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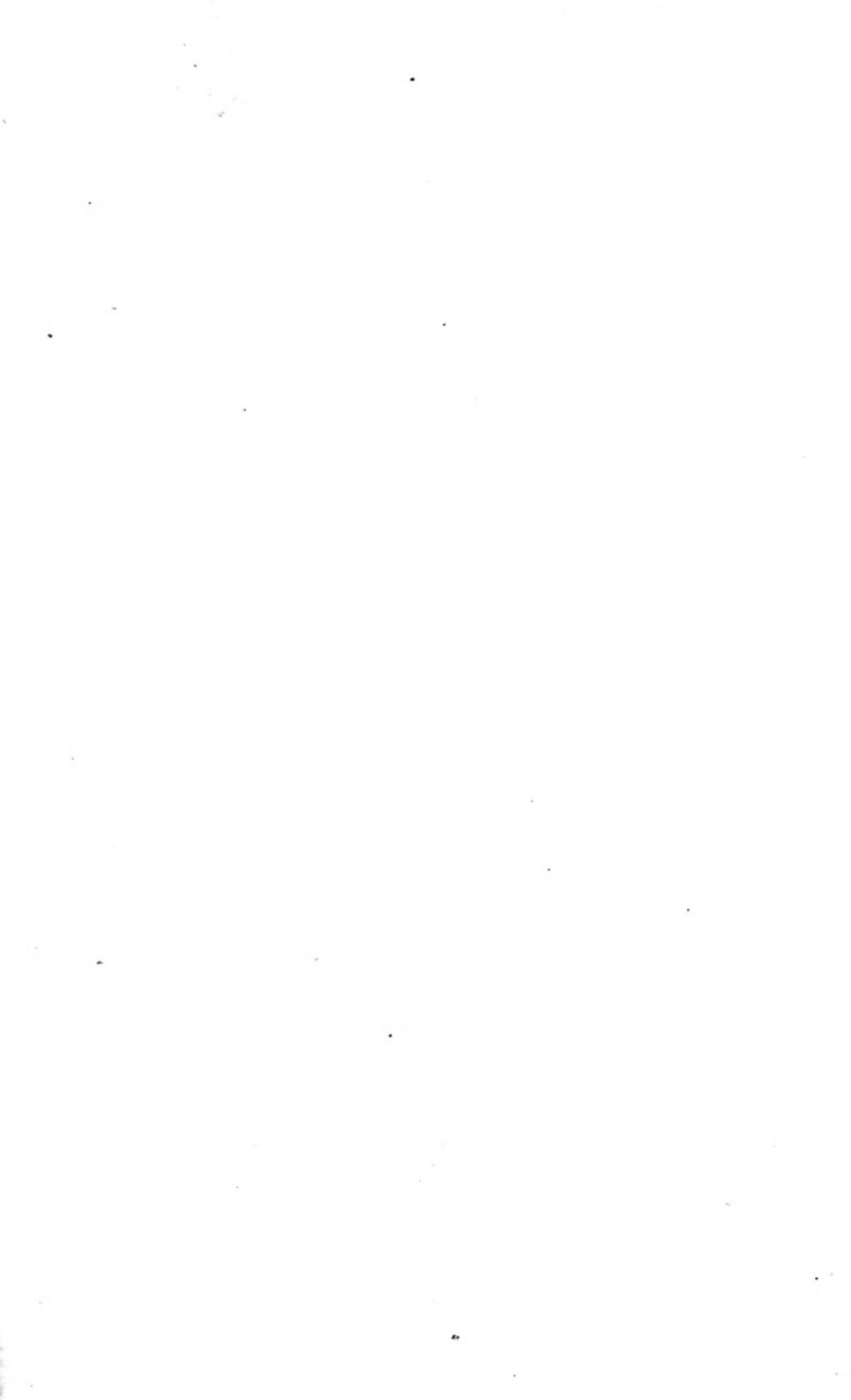
Stuart, Moses, 1780-1852.

Is the mode of Christian

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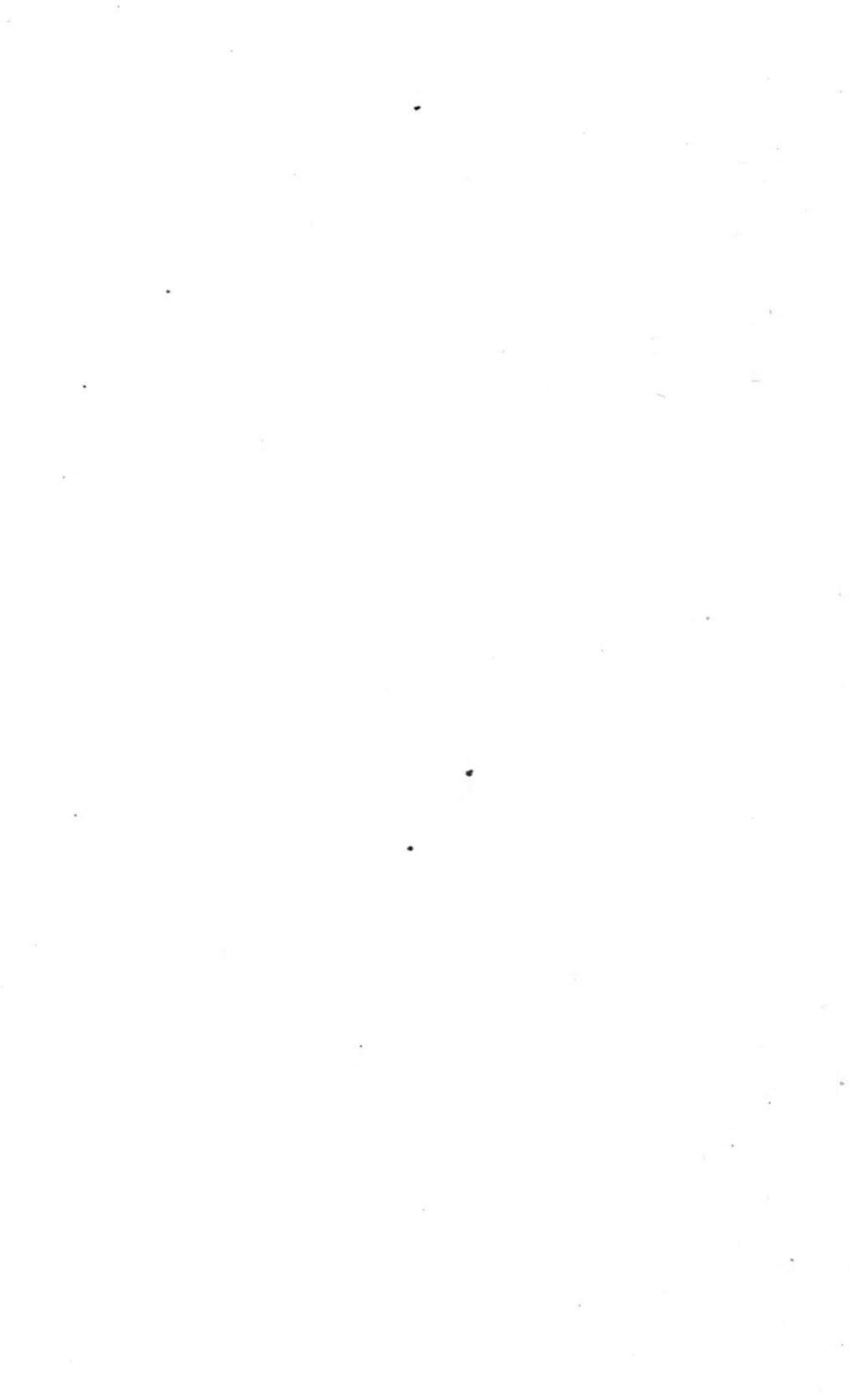


IS  
THE MODE  
OF  
CHRISTIAN BAPTISM  
PRESCRIBED  
IN THE NEW TESTAMENT?

BY  
M. STUART,  
Professor of Sacred Literature in the Theological Seminary, Andover.

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## INTRODUCTORY REVIEW.

IF the question is asked—and it will be, many scores of times—"Why have the Baptists republished Mr. Stuart's work on Baptism?" we answer:—

As a work of authority upon the subject of the primitive action of baptism, and the Scriptural warrant for infant baptism. Prof. Stuart was in his day the brightest luminary in the constellation of Presbyterian scholars. He was the bright particular star of Andover, and shed over that seminary a halo of intellectual light. The charm of his name, his reputation for profound and varied scholarship, on both sides of the water, attracted students from the remotest sections of our Union, and for nearly half a century, with his students, as with Presbyterians, appeals to his authority have been considered ultimate. It was not strange, then, that, during the whole period of his established scholarship, he should be frequently consulted with respect to the classical import and use of the terms "*bapto*" and "*baptizo*," and the Scriptural warrant for infant baptism, about which the Christian world was so much divided and, in his day, so violently agitated.

To answer all these interrogatories at once and finally, to put upon record for an inquiring age, and to leave his testimony behind him for all time to come, influenced him to prepare the following treatise.

It originally appeared in the Biblical Repository, Vol. III. No. 11, and was, in the year 1833, published separately, by Flagg, Gould, and Newman, Andover. The edition was eagerly sought for, and speedily exhausted; and for many years there has been an earnest demand for the work by Christians of all denominations, and by none more than by Baptists. But only now and then a copy could be procured. It has been a subject of inquiry why his own "Church," or Pedobaptist Publication Societies, have not kept the work in print, to meet the numerous demands for it, and even taken measures to increase those demands. We leave the reader to draw his own conclusion.

Our reasons for recovering it from its present obscurity, and inviting all Christians, especially Baptists, to aid in its extensive circulation, are several.

It is unquestionably a scholarly production; and, being the decision of one of the first Pedobaptist scholars and theologians of England or America, it can be appealed to with confidence in discussions with Pedobaptists touching the primitive action and subjects of Baptism. It is regarded as a standard authority with Presbyterians, and an authority that must be, as it deserves to be, respected by all classes to whom the name of Mr. Stuart is familiar, or to whom his character and position are made known.

This work is not republished by Baptists primarily for the sake of Prof. Stuart's *reasonings*, but for the *authorities* and *facts* which he submits. It must be confessed that he reasons like a Pedobaptist—as one whose prejudices and feelings were all violently opposed to the *facts* which his candor and character as a scholar forced him to admit. His admissions, his facts and authorities, are most clearly and conclusively in favor of the Baptists; while his reasonings, or rather *inferences*, are in favor of Pedobaptists, and *characteristically Pedobaptistic*. The former we most cordially

receive ; the latter, with all due deference, reject. And yet, the very *reasonings* or *inferences* of Prof. S. in this work, we conceive, must prove powerful arguments in favor of our positions as a denomination.

Will not all classes naturally look into this treatise for the *strongest* argument and the *fairest* and *most conclusive* reasonings that the Pedobaptists of either continent can furnish ? If not from the mature scholarship and resplendent talents of Moses Stuart of Andover, from what source could they reasonably look for or expect it ?

And will not the candid and impartial inquirer turn from these pages with astonishment, and, however strong his previous prepossessions in favor of Mr. Stuart's reasonings, with disappointment ? Will he not irresistibly conclude, " If these are the arguments, and all the arguments,—if these are the most conclusive and satisfactory reasonings that can be produced in favor of affusion,—if these are the character of *inferences* upon which sprinkling and infant baptism indeed rest,—and, above all, if these are the *astounding facts* which *must be admitted*, and which so *potentially* militate against and rebuke both practices,—then should they be rejected from the Protestant creed, and energetically repudiated in Protestant practice.

We propose to make a brief summary of Prof. S.'s admissions and facts touching the meaning of the term *baptizo*, in the classics, the Septuagint, and the New Testament, and mark how he seeks to avoid the logical and inevitable conclusions his premises force upon him. The whole question of the import of the term *baptizo*, when applied to baptism, evidently rests upon these two propositions, and these alone, *viz. :*

What is the signification of *baptizo* in the Greek language of the age in which the New Testament was written ?

What is the evident signification of *baptizo*, in the Bible, when baptism is not mentioned?

If its classical use is to dip, to immerse, and if it is universally, or even more often, so used in the Bible, when it is not used with reference to the rite, then the conclusion follows irresistibly that it signifies to dip or immerse, when used to designate the rite; for we cannot suppose that the Saviour used the term in an unnatural or unusual sense.

From an extensive examination of classical authorities and lexicons, Prof. S. frankly asserts as follows:

“‘BAPTO,’ and ‘BAPTIZO,’ mean *to dip*, plunge, or immerse into any liquid. All lexicographers and critics of any note are agreed in this.”

“The verb BAPTO means to plunge or thrust into any thing that is solid, but permeable: *to plunge in*, so as to cover or inclose the thing plunged.”

“The verb BAPTO only (and its derivatives in point of form) signifies *to tinge*, to dye, or *color*.”

“No doubt then can remain, that the word *bapto* means to *tinge* or *color*; and in this respect it seems plainly to differ from *baptizo*. I find no instance in which the latter is employed in this way.”

“The word *baptizo* means to overwhelm, *literally* and *figuratively*, in a variety of ways.”

Such are the conclusions to which a patient and extensive examination of the Greek classics forced our author. He finds not one solitary exception. The voice of antiquity is unbroken. *Baptizo*, both *literally* and *figuratively*, means *to immerse*, to overwhelm. He finds no variableness or shadow of deviation from this signification.

If the testimony of Prof. S. needed any support, that of Alexander Carson, the most profound critic of his day, in England, could be brought forward. He asserts that *bap-*

*tizo* means to dip or immerse, and *nothing else*—i. e., that it has but this one signification.

But with Pedobaptists, Dr. Charles Anthon, of Columbia College, New York, the first of American scholars, and author of a series of Greek and Latin classics for academies and colleges, is certainly high authority.

COLUMBIA COLLEGE, *March 27, 1843.*

DR. PALMLEY,

DEAR SIR:—There is no authority whatever for the singular remark made by the Rev. Dr. Spring, relative to the force of *baptizo*. The primary meaning of the word is, to dip or immerse, and its secondary meanings, *if it ever had any*, all refer, in some way or other, to the same leading idea; *sprinkling, &c., are entirely out of the question.*

CHARLES ANTHON.

We might strengthen this by an array of the most eminent scholarship of the past six centuries, but it needs no more.

Having established the first premise, Prof. S. proceeds to the second, which he thus states:

“*Bapto* and *baptizo*, in the Septuagint, Apocrypha, and New Testament, *when not applied to the rite of baptism*, mean to plunge, immerse, dip in, overwhelm.”

From the Old Testament he produces every passage in which *bapto* occurs—eighteen in all. In thirteen instances he renders it *to dip in*, overwhelm. In three instances, Ex. 12:22; Lev. 4:17, and 14: 15, 16; very strangely translates *bapto*, “to moisten or smear over by dipping in!” But the reader can see here that he includes the *consequence* with the action, for the *moistening* or smearing is the consequence of the “*dipping in*,” and is no part of the signification of the verb *bapto*. He could as justly have claimed *to red-*

*den* as a part of the signification,—since the hyssop, or the finger of the priest is made red by dipping in blood, as it is moistened or smeared by the act. The signification of the verb cannot be set aside without an undoubted necessity for it, and there can be no necessity urged in this case. And what reason does Prof. S. give for departing from the version of the Seventy, and of King James' translators? He stumbles at the expression, “dipping” from the oil or blood, and thinks it involves a solecism—a manifest inconsistency—and therefore forbids the idea of dipping only. How “to moisten or smear over by dipping in” solves his difficulty, we are unable to perceive, and he fails to explain. Prof. S. forgets the scholar here, in his anxiety to attach the meaning of “to moisten,” to the verb *bapto*, for a future use in summing up his argument. He strangely overlooks the fact that this very expression is found in the classics, where no one ever considered it solecistical.

Atheneus *Deipnos*, 3, 123, quotes an ancient dramatic poet, who makes one of his characters say, “Dipping a ladle *from* the midst of a cauldron of boiling water, I will pour it over you.” This is exactly the same phraseology that is employed by the Seventy, in the passage in question.” Suppose we substitute Prof. S.’s peculiar rendering: “Moistening or smearing over a ladle from the midst of a cauldron of boiling water, I will pour it (what? the ladle!) over you!”

The following occur in Hippocrates’ *De Ratione Vic.*, p. 383: “Dipping warm cakes from black wine and oil.”

Plutarch, in his life of Alexander, says,—

“The soldiers, *dipping from* large casks and urns, drank to each other.”\*

Would Prof. S.’s rendering make the sense more per-

\* Judd’s Rev. of Stuart, p. 144.

spurious here, or would it render it manifestly solecistical?

One of the two remaining instances, our author renders, to dye, which he has shown to be the secondary meaning of *bapto*, since articles were dyed by being dipped.

The last of the eighteen, found in Dan. 4:30, he renders "to wet or bedew." The passage reads, "And he was driven from among men, and did eat grass as an ox, and his body was *dipped from the dew of heaven*;" "wet with" is the version of the seventy; but the phraseology is the same with that of the passages noticed above, and it should be rendered, like them, dipped from the dew, not simply slightly moistened or smeared over with the dew. The idea evidently is that the king was to be thoroughly drenched, bathed, or immersed in the dew; as thoroughly drenched as to his body as though he had been immersed in water. To be dipped in dew is a strong expression, but when looked upon as spoken hyperbolically, it appears as easy as this declaration of David: "All the night I make my bed to swim," i.e., with his tears. This only in passing, for *bapto* has nothing to do with the action of Christian baptism, since it is never used to designate the rite, *baptizo* alone being used.

*Bapto* is used in the Septuagint, therefore, as in the classics, to signify to dip, to immerse, and, by consequence, to dye.

*Baptizo* he finds twice only in the Old Testament, once in its literal, and once in its figurative sense, and in both he concedes it signifies to dip, to overwhelm.

2 Kings 5:4: "And Naaman went down and *ebaptizeto en to Jordane potamo*, dipped himself into the river Jordan." Let it be noticed that this is Prof. S.'s own rendering, and the phraseology is precisely similar to that used in describing the baptism of our Saviour. Will Prof. S. as frankly render that "was plunged or dipped" by John into

the river Jordan"? or will he allow his creed to warp his scholarship?

The second instance is in Isa. 21:4, which Prof. S. renders, "My iniquity *overwhelms me.*" We care not to dispute his rendering of *baptizo* here, it answers our purpose very well. By the strangest oversight imaginable, he makes it the iniquity of the prophet himself that overwhelms him, instead of the iniquity, the inexpressible barbarity, practiced by the enemies of Israel, which he foresaw, and which caused his heart to pant and to be overwhelmed with consternation! But even Jove sometimes nodded, and so does Mr. S. Here closes the testimony of the Old Testament, and Prof. Stuart admits that *baptizo* is used in no other sense than to dip, to plunge, or overwhelm—not a shade of meaning like "to sprinkle or to pour upon." Let this be distinctly borne in mind, as it will be needed in the concluding argument.

IN THE USAGE OF THE APOCRYPHA, *baptizo* means only to dip, to immerse.

Judith 12:7: Speaking of Judith, that "she abode in the camp three days, and at night went out into the valley of Bethulia, and washed herself (*ebaptizeto*) at the fountain in the camp." Prof. S. renders *baptizo* in this place, to wash, a signification which he has labored through a score of pages to prove that it has not in any Greek author, or in the Greek of the Septuagint! In the principles of interpretation which he has given to us in his translation of Ernesti and Morus, he lays down the rule that the primary meaning of a word must not be departed from without absolute necessity; and to his own rule we hold him. It must be a law unto him, as well as unto another. Is there an obvious necessity laid upon him to depart from the primary signification of *baptizo*? Wherein consists the necessity?

1. That she did not bathe in the fountain itself from which water was used? It does not say that she did, nor is it nec-

essary to suppose that she did. She bathed—immersed her body—at the fountain in the camp. The expression is common, “ We bathed while at the Sulphur Spring in Nashville;” meaning, not that the bath was taken in the spring from which the water is drunk, but in the baths connected with the spring—appendages with which all our watering-places are supplied.

Is it urged that it was not the custom of the Jews to bathe their bodies frequently ? So far from it, it was characteristic of them, and dipping, or total ablution, was the invariable manner of their *bodily* washings.

Is it urged that the idea that Judith bathed in a bath at the fountain, involves an indelicate exposure, since the fountain was “in the camp”? This fountain was evidently not in the thoroughfares of the camp, but only within its guarded limits.

She was certainly not exposed to the view of the camp, for she went out at night, shielded from observation by its darkness, to the fountain, as to a retired spot, and there performed her ablutions. But does not Prof. S.’s supposition involve as great sacrifice of decorum as the declaration of the text ? His washing certainly involves a total washing of the body, which, if she was in the view of the soldiers, would have been quite as indecorous as an immersion. That she should leave her tent, and seek the fountain, under cover of night, only to moisten her hands and face, is the most improbable supposition that could well be imagined. Let us candidly interpret by the light of our past investigations. The prophet commanded Naaman to *wash* himself in the Jordan, and he obeyed by plunging or immersing himself (*ebaptisato*) in the river. Here we read that Judith (*ebaptizeto*) immersed or bathed herself at the fountain ; and where is the necessity compelling us to give the term an unusual meaning here ? It certainly is not obvious.

The second instance is in Sirach 31:25. "If any one who is immersed (*baptizomenos*) from a dead body toucheth it again, what is he profited by his bath?" Prof. S. renders this, "cleansed from a dead body," a signification similar to that of "smear by dipping," noticed a little back. Ceremonial *cleansing* was the result of an ablution of the body in water; but to cleanse is not therefore a part of the verb. Whether the body is cleansed or defiled, *cooled* or *warmed*, by an immersion, depends upon circumstances, but are these circumstances ever a part of the signification of the verb *baptizo*? And would a scholar incorporate them in the signification, unless he had an ultimate cause to serve that was unusually dear to him?

But this case can be disposed of summarily by a simple reference to the act enjoined upon one who is defiled by contact with a dead body. We find the law in Numbers 19:18: "And on the seventh day he shall purify himself and wash his clothes, and *bathe himself in water*," &c. To bathe, every one who reads English knows, or can easily make himself to know, by consulting his dictionary, is "to dip in a bath," artificial or natural—an ablution of the whole body.

Here we dismiss the Apocrypha, having seen that its testimony perfectly harmonizes with that of previous witnesses. We now enter the New Testament with our author. *Bapto*, he concedes, is never used to designate the rite of baptism. He produces only three passages in which it occurs; in two of which, Luke 16:4, and John 13:26, he renders it *to dip*; and once, in Rev. 19:13, to dye. This term is henceforth dismissed from this discussion.

Prof. S. now inquires for the *signification* of *baptizo* and its derivatives, *when not applied to the rite of baptism*. Before a step is taken, let the rule which Prof. S. declares must govern us be repeated: "The primary or literal signification

of a word must always be taken, unless the context obviously demands a secondary signification."

We find *baptizo* used in five passages, disconnected from the rite of Christian baptism, and in every instance Prof. S. renders it by wash and its cognates! and this without offering a solitary reason, and in palpable violation of his own rule!!! for the context, the common sense of the passages, as well as the well-known custom of the Jews at the time this was written, prove that *baptizo* should, and must, have its primary and natural signification—to immerse. Here are two instances :

Mark 7: 3, 4: "The Pharisees [returning] from the market eat not except they (*baptisontai*) immerse themselves." Mid. voice.

Luke 11: 38: "But the Pharisees, seeing him, wondered that he had not first (*ebaptisthe*) immersed himself before dinner."

Why does not Prof. S. deign to offer some reason for dragging in an unusual signification here—for so violent an infraction of, and contempt for, his own rules of interpretation. Does he claim that his term wash implies less in this case than to immerse? Not a word of it. Does he intimate that the Pharisees did not dip the part they washed, whether it may be understood of the hands merely, or of the whole body (for it affects not the conclusion whether it was the whole body immersed, or only the hands, for the definition remains)? Not by one word. He openly begs the question—takes for granted the very thing he is bound to prove, i. e., that wash is an admissible signification here. He must not be allowed to avail himself of this sophistry in his conclusion.

Though it is not incumbent upon us to prove that *baptizo* and its cognates have their usual meaning here, yet it can

be proven to the conversion of the most obdurate unbeliever, if he is only a candid and reasonable man.

Mark informs us, 7:3, 4, that the Pharisees, and all the Jews, unless they wash their hands (*pugmē*) oft, i. e., *thoroughly*, they eat not; but when they come from the market, they eat not except they immerse themselves, and that this was according to the tradition of the elders. By contact, accidental or otherwise, with the crowd in the market-place they regarded themselves possibly as defiled, and therefore ate not until they had immersed themselves; but when they had not thus mingled with the multitude, they only washed their hands thoroughly. The Saviour (Luke 11:38) had been thus mingling with the people, and therefore they marvelled that he ate without first immersing himself, according to the inviolable rule of the elders. The “washing of themselves” after coming from market, certainly implies more than the ordinary washing of their hands, “for if they on no occasion eat without washing, of course they did not do it after coming from market; what, then, is the necessity of adding that particular? And even if we interpret it of *dipping* the hands, it will seem to involve what is worse than mere tautology; viz., a *degradation* of ideas, and that in an inverse ratio to the importance of the occasion.” In all cases of *positive* defilement, purification was accomplished by bathing the body in water, and these traditions of the elders were concerning *possible* defilement, and would they have enjoined less? “Who,” asks Mr. Judd, “that fears he has been exposed to the small-pox, though he is not certain of the fact, would inoculate himself with any thing but the genuine vaccine matter? Certainly he could be none the better for using any thing less efficacious, nor any worse for omitting it.

Baptismas in its inflections occurs three times, which Prof. S. also translates *washings*, without deigning to suggest a

reason, and therefore without reason, which compels us, according to his rule, to adhere to the natural and universal signification. The instances are,

Mark 7: 4: "The (baptimus) immersion of cups, and brazen vessels, and couches," i. e., cushions on which the guests reclined. The same in Mark 7: 8.

If it was incumbent upon us, we could prove from Maimonides,\* that these purifications were invariably by immersion; but since Prof. S. does not deny, why should we take the pains to prove?

Heb. 9: 10: "Only in meats and drinks, and divers (*baptismois*) immersions." In this passage, also, with the utmost coolness, and in supreme contempt of his own law of interpretation, Mr. S. translates *baptismois*, "washings." That they allude to the immersions under the law, for the divers instances in which immersion was enjoined, admits of no doubt; nor does Prof. S. himself claim that *baptismois* refers to sprinkling or pouring upon. The ceremonial washings under the law were by immersion—"bathing the body in water." The Greek fathers understood these "divers baptisms" to refer to the diverse *occasions*, not *modes*, of immersions required by the law. Theophylact, on this passage, says, "And there were 'diverse baptisms' among them. For if any one had touched the dead, or the leprous, or was unclean, he baptized himself, and so was considered to be cleansed."

Prof. S. next examines the sense of *baptizo* and its cognates, when used figuratively.

The Saviour speaks of his suffering as a baptism—Luke 12: 50; Mark 12: 38, 39; which our author concedes implies an *overwhelming*. Baptism for the dead—1 Cor. 15: 29, he also thinks refers to the overwhelming sorrows to which

\* See Appendix, Note 3.

their baptism exposed them, and he labors to prove this. He says, “Inasmuch, now, as the *more usual idea of Baptizo is that of overwhelming immersing*, it was very natural to employ it in designating severe calamities and sufferings.”

Every step taken thus far has tended directly to strengthen the signification of *baptizo* given by Prof. S. at first, i. e., to dip, to plunge, overwhelm. The universal verdict of all Greek authors, of the Septuagint, of the Apochrypha, and of the New Testament, sustain it. Prof. S. makes a slight effort to find the shadow of an idea of copious affusion, in the expression, “He shall baptize you with the Holy Ghost and with fire;” also the baptism of the Holy Spirit, in 1 Cor. 12 : 13, and whenever it occurs. While he admits the basis of the expression, “Baptize you with Holy Ghost,” &c., is very plainly to be found in the designation, by *baptizo*, of the idea of *overwhelming*—i. e., of surrounding on all sides with fluid—he thinks that copious affusion is kindred to this. We do not concern ourself with our author’s opinion of what may answer as well; the point is, is there any necessity to depart from the natural and usual signification of *baptizo* in these passages? There is none. Prof. S. does not claim that there is any, but simply suggests it as possibly answering the idea. But what right has he to substitute the meaning of “copious affusion,” or “effusion,” for *baptizo*? Does he claim that it is the usual signification of the term? He has proven and declared that it is not. Does he claim that it is even a secondary or an occasional meaning? He does not. All his examples, gathered from whatever source, prove that it will not admit of the idea of affusion or effusion in either literal or figurative usage.

Prof. S. cannot be allowed his *new* signification; he has brought it in too late, and it is at open conflict with the construction. Copious affusion or effusion is denoted by “to pour.” Translate the passage with this signification: “He

shall pour you with the Holy Ghost and fire ;” and Prof. S. himself will reject it at once, because “to pour *with*” is an unheard-of and incongruous expression. Mr. W. Judd, in noticing this, says: “The Greeks *very rarely* used *in* to denote instrumentality, and *never* in connection with a verb signifying *to pour*. I affirm, without fear of contradiction, that the phrase ‘to pour in,’ in the sense ‘to pour with,’ cannot be found in the compass of the language. If the verb *baptizo* could be proved to signify ‘to pour,’ the phrase, as it is constructed, must signify ‘to pour in ;’ and then it will follow that the apostles were poured in the Holy Spirit, which still would involve immersion ; for whether they were plunged or poured in the Spirit, they would be immersed. But the idea of pouring a person into the element is absurd in itself, and wholly unauthorized.” The Greek fathers, who understood the construction of their own language, were not troubled to understand this baptism in the Spirit. They all understood it an immersion in the Holy Spirit—implying that the subjects were thoroughly imbued with the influences of the Holy Spirit—*immersed in the spiritual light*.

THEOPHYLACT, Commentary on Mat. 3 : 11, says, “That is, he shall *inundate* you abundantly with the gifts of the Spirit.”

CYRIL OF JERUSALEM explains it thus : “For as he that goes down into the water and is baptized, is surrounded on all sides by the water, so the apostles were totally immersed by the Spirit. The water surrounds the body externally, but the Spirit incomprehensibly immerses the soul within.

This closes the proof of the second premise. We now have two, established with the clearness of demonstration,

1. The term *baptizo*, in classical usage, universally signifies to dip, to immerse, to plunge.
2. That *baptizo* in the usage of the Septuagint and Apocra

pha, and in the New Testament, both *literally* and *figuratively*, when not applied to the rite of baptism, signifies to dip, to plunge, to overwhelm.

What, then, *must* be the unavoidable conclusion of every conscientious person? That it is used contrary to its universal classical and scriptural sense, when, and *only when* applied to baptism? Will any one say that the Saviour designed to obscure his command to baptize—conceal the action of baptism, and thus distract and divide his followers into contending factions as they are now, touching the rite? Will any one say from the above premises that he specified no definite act, but left it for his followers to perform what act *they* might think best?

The conclusion from the above premises, in all candor and honesty, we think unavoidably this:

Therefore, The word *baptizo* when used with reference to baptism is, *to dip, to immerse*.

In support of this conclusion we submit the authority of the most distinguished Pedobaptist scholars of the Reformation.

LUTHER. "The term baptism is a Greek word. It may be rendered *a dipping*, when we dip something in water, that it may be entirely covered with water. And though that custom be quite abolished among the generality (for neither do they entirely dip children, but only sprinkle them with a little water), nevertheless they ought to be wholly immersed, and presently to be drawn out again; for the etymology of the word seems to require it. The Germans call baptism *tauff*, from *depth*, which they call *tieff*, in their language; as if it were proper those should be *deeply immersed*, who are baptized. And, truly, if you consider what baptism signifies, you shall see the same thing required: for it signifies, that the old man and our nativity, that is full of sins, which is entirely of flesh and blood, may be overwhelmed by divine grace. The manner of baptism, therefore, should correspond to the signification of baptism, that it may show a certain and plain sign of it." In Dr. Du Veil, on Acts 8:38.

CALVIN. "The word baptize signifies to immerse; and the rite of

immersion was observed by the ancient Church."—Inst. Chur. Rel. l. iv.

"From these words (John 3:23) it may be inferred that baptism was administered by John and Christ, by plunging the whole body under water. \* \* \* Here we perceive how baptism was administered among the ancients; for they immersed the whole body in water. Now it is the prevailing practice for a minister only to sprinkle the body or the head."—Com. on John 3: and Acts 7:33.

BEZA. "Christ commanded us to be baptized, by which word it is certain immersion is signified."

BUDDEUS. "The words *baptistin* and *baptismos* are not to be interpreted of aspersion, but *always of immersion*."

VENEMA. "The word *baptizo* is nowhere used in Scripture for sprinkling.

ALTINGIUS. "Baptism is immersion, when the whole body is immersed; but the term baptism is never used concerning aspersion."

CASAUBON. "This was the rite of baptizing, that persons were plunged into the water, which the very word *baptizo* sufficiently declares."

But from this legitimate conclusion, Prof. Stuart adroitly attempts to lead his reader away, by asserting that the conclusion may be enlightened by the five following considerations:

I. "We may contemplate the proper force and signification of the word itself, as determined by the *usus loquendi* in general."

And what does Prof. Stuart declare this is? "A review of the preceding examples must lead any one, I think, to the conclusion, that the predominant usage of the words *bapto* and *baptizo* is, to designate the idea of *dippiny, plunging, and overwhelming*." This strengthens our conclusion.

But now, mark his manifest unfairness. He claims his suppositions, which we noticed a few pages back, for established facts. He says: "We have seen that the word *baptizo* sometimes means to wash." The reader knows he has seen

no such thing. Mr. S. gratuitously substituted wash for dip or immerse in those instances without authority, and contrary to his own established rule of interpreting language. He says: "It *may* mean washing;" and this is only his bare assertion. He has not produced so much as one instance where *washing* is the necessary meaning of *baptizo*. Bald and unsupported suppositions will not avail here. He also says, "possibly (but not probably) it may mean copiously moistening or bedewing." If there is no probability of it, why does Prof. S. suppose such a meaning, unless to familiarize his readers with the sounds of washing and copious affusion, in connection with baptism.

II. "*We may examine the circumstances which attended the administration of this rite, and see whether they cast any light upon the manner of the rite itself.*"

We commend this advice to every inquirer. Let him take his New Testament, and Concordance, and refer to the passages in which baptism occur, and impartially consider the circumstances for himself; and we are satisfied what his conclusion will be.

Prof. Stuart now forgets the scholar in the theologian. He invariably adopts the views and interpretations of the passages, which the overwhelming mass of Pedobaptist scholars and commentators repudiate: That Jesus may not have gone down into the water, or "went up out of the water," but only from the banks of the river! That John baptized in Enon because he wanted many "little streams" of water for the accommodation of the multitude! That Philip and thee unuch may have only gone down to the water and come up from it! That possibly there might not have been sufficient time to baptize the three thousand on the same day they believed, and possibly, but not probably, there might not have been a sufficiency of water at hand. Yet Prof. S. does not

urge that immersion was impossible in this case, but only inconvenient ! Does he claim the shadow of an impossibility in the case of Cornelius ? None ; but admits "that another meaning [than the one he suggests] is not necessarily excluded, which would accord with the practice of immersion." Does he claim any in the case of the jailer ? None ; he only thinks the jails and prisons of those eastern countries might not have been accommodated with baths, &c., which is directly contrary to the universal testimony of all travellers. "Still," he admits, "the *possibility* of this cannot be denied." Does he claim any thing militating against the immersion of Paul—Acts 22: 16 ? He thinks that "*washing, or washing off*, was the manner of the baptism on this occasion!" And pray, what does the critic mean by a *washing off* ? That Paul was divested of his clothes, and washed and rubbed, as we wash off a horse ? Still, our author has the candor to confess, "I acknowledge that this is not a necessary conclusion : for bathing, or immersion, would produce the effect of *washing off*." And we may add, that sprinkling could not convey the idea of "*washing off*." In opposition to a host of modern Pedobaptist authors and preachers, Prof. S. proves that the metaphorical baptism of the Israelites in the Red Sea was not a sprinkling, or a pouring, but, as Baptists contend, a *surrounding upon all sides*, which was an immersion in the cloud and in the sea. He says, "but the cloud, on this occasion, was not a cloud of *rain* ; nor do we find any intimation that the waters of the Red Sea sprinkled the children of Israel at this time." Prof. S.'s theory on Romans 6: 4, and Col. 2: 12, we pass without comment. All Pedobaptist commentators of note, from Luther until now, are against him, and their united testimony proves his theory untenable and preposterous. Certainly, the cause of sprinkling needs no such far-fetched

expositions—no such violent wrestings of God's word to sustain it!!

Here closes the examination of the circumstances of baptism in the New Testament, and Prof. S. shows that not the slightest ground can be found for either sprinkling or pouring—for he can find no obvious impossibility, or improbability, forbidding us to translate *baptizo* by its natural and usual signification, and therefore we are bound so to translate it.

Prof. Stuart's third “way” to cast light upon the ground of inquiry, is an examination of the history of Jewish proselyte baptism. He was aware that Mr. Wall builds a strong argument in favor of immersion, as the only act of Christian baptism, from proselyte baptism, which he (Mr. W.) claimed to have been practiced prior to the days of John, the immerser, but we are not aware that this was ever an argument with Baptists. Prof. S. has written elaborately upon this subject, and we think conclusively proved that proselyte baptism had its rise about the year 200, or perhaps later, thus completely demolishing Mr. Wall's strongest argument in favor of infant baptism in the apostolic age of the Church, as well as that in favor of immersion, which was far-fetched. Our author, in thus conclusively answering Wall's strongest and most plausible argument in favor of infant baptism, has performed an important service. The argument in favor of immersion loses nothing, while infant baptism is effectually ruined by the operation.

Our author's fifth way to aid us in deciding whether *baptizo* was probably used in its natural signification by Christ and his apostles, is to “investigate the subsequent history of the rite, in the early ages of the Christian church, and see what mode of baptizing was practiced by the churches in general.” Here he finds the most abundant and conclusive evidence upon every page of history, for thirteen centuries,

that immersion was the universal practice of all professed Christians, until after the dogma of baptismal regeneration, when, *in extreme cases*, a *copious affusion—not sprinkling*—was authorized, first by councils, and afterwards ratified by the Popes of Rome. Our space allows us only to submit his conclusions.

“ But enough. ‘It is,’ says Augusti (Denkw. VIII. p. 216), ‘a thing made out,’ viz., the ancient practice of immersion. ‘So, indeed, all the writers who have thoroughly investigated this subject conclude. I know of no one usage of ancient times, which seems to be more clearly and certainly made out. I cannot see how it is possible for any candid man who examines the subject, to deny this.’

“ The mode of baptism by immersion, the Oriental church has always continued to preserve, even down to the present time.”

“ The members of this church are accustomed to call the members of the western churches *sprinkled Christians*, by way of ridicule and contempt; Walch’s Einleit. in die relig. Streitigkeiten, Th. V. pp. 476—481. They maintain, that *βαπτίζω* can mean nothing but *immerse*; and that *baptism by sprinkling* is as great a solecism as *immersion by aspersion*; and they claim to themselves the honour of having preserved the ancient sacred rite of the church free from change and from corruption, which would destroy its signification; see Alex. de Stourdza, Considerations sur la Doctrine et l’ Esprit de l’ Eglise Orthodoxe, Stuttg. 1816, pp. 83—89.

“ F. Brenner, a Roman Catholic writer, has recently published a learned work, which contains a copious history of usages in respect to the baptismal rite; viz., Geschichtliche Darstellung der Verrichtung der Taufe, etc. 1818. I have not seen the work; but it is spoken of highly, on account of the diligence and learning which the author has exhibited in

his historical details. The result of them respecting the point before us, I present, as given by Augusti, *Denkwürd.* VII. p. 68.

“ ‘Thirteen hundred years was baptism generally and ordinarily performed by the immersion of a man under water; and only in extraordinary cases was sprinkling or affusion permitted. These latter methods of baptism were called in question, and even prohibited.’

“ In the work of John Floyer on Cold Bathing, p. 50, it is mentioned, that the English church practiced *immersion* down to the beginning of the seventeenth century; when a change to the method of sprinkling gradually took place. As a confirmation of this, it may be mentioned, that the first Liturgy, in 1547, enjoins a *trine immersion*, in case the child is not sickly; Augusti, *ut sup.* p. 229.

“ We have collected facts enough to authorize us now to come to the following general conclusion, respecting the practice of the Christian church in general, with regard to the mode of baptism, viz., that from the earliest ages of which we have any account, subsequent to the apostolic age, and downward for several centuries, the churches did generally practice baptism by immersion; perhaps *by immersion of the whole person*; and that the only exceptions to this mode which were usually allowed, were in cases of urgent *sickness*, or other cases of immediate and imminent danger, where immersion could not be practiced.

“ It may also be mentioned here, that *aspersion* and *affusion*, which had, in particular cases, been now and then practiced in primitive times, were *gradually* introduced. These became at length, as we shall see hereafter, quite common, and in the western church almost universal, some time before the Reformation.

“ In what manner, then, did the churches of Christ, from a very early period, to say the least, understand the word

*βαπτίζω* in the New Testament? Plainly they construed it as meaning *immersion*. They sometimes even went so far as to forbid any other method of administering the ordinance, cases of necessity and mercy only excepted.

“If, then, we are left in doubt, after a philological investigation of *βαπτίζω*, how much it necessarily implies; if the circumstances which are related as accompanying this rite, so far as the New Testament has given them, leave us still in doubt; if we cannot trace with any certainty the Jewish proselyte baptism to a period as early as the baptism of John and Jesus, so as to draw any inferences with probability from this; still we are left in no doubt as to the more generally received usage of the Christian church, down to a period several centuries after the apostolic age.

“That the Greek fathers, and the Latin ones who were familiar with the Greek, understood the usual import of the word *βαπτίζω*, would hardly seem to be capable of a denial. That they might be confirmed in their view of the import of this word, by common usage among the Greek classic authors, we have seen in the first part of this dissertation.”

Prof. S. finds evidence so early as the third and fourth centuries, of the rise of true immersion, the candidates being divested of their garments; but instead of using this as some of his brethren do, to prove that the act of immersion itself, as well as repeating it three times, and that *mode* was of traditional origin, he candidly declares that this fact strengthens the argument for immersion.

“Still, say what we may concerning it in a moral point of view, the argument to be deduced from it in respect to immersion, is not at all diminished. Nay, it is strengthened. For if such a violation of decency was submitted to, in order that baptism might be performed as the church thought it should be, it argues that baptizing by immersion was considered as a rite not to be dispensed with.”

We are now prepared to hear Prof. S.'s conclusion in view of all the premises he has so satisfactorily established, viz. : 1st. That in classic usage *baptizo* means to dip, to immerse, &c. 2d. That in the Septuagint and Apocrapha it means the same. 3d. That throughout the New Testament, when not applied to the rite of baptism, its meaning, both literal and figurative, is to dip, to plunge, to overwhelm—no instance occurring where it is undeniably used to denote sprinkling or pouring upon. Fourthly, and finally, that it is a thing clearly and certainly made out, that immersion was the universal practice of the primitive churches, and for thirteen hundred years after the apostles, except in *extreme cases*. We say by all this light to guide him to a conclusion, what does Prof. S. decide? We must make some allowance for him—he was a Pedobaptist, a professor in a Presbyterian Theological School ; he had himself only been sprinkled. Should he take the uttermost sand from under effusion, he would confess himself unbaptized ; and not only so, but that all Presbyterians were equally so ; and doubtless such a position would have cost him his professorship. He must leave sprinkling a shadow of support ; and to his credit be it said, he leaves it only the faintest shadow imaginable. Hear him :

“ For myself, then, I cheerfully admit, that *βαπτίζω*, in the New Testament, when applied to the rite of baptism, does in all probability involve the idea, that this rite was usually performed by immersion, but not always. I say *usually*, and *not always* ; for to say more than this, the tenor of some of the narrations, particularly in Acts 10: 47, 48 ; 16: 32, 33, and 2: 41, seem to me to forbid. I cannot read these examples, without the distinct conviction that *immersion* was not practiced on these occasions, but *washing* or *affusion*.”

We conceive that this admission from Prof. S. must operate with a thousand-fold more power upon the minds of Pedobaptists, to convince them that immersion, and immersion

alone, was the primitive act, than the ablest volume from the pen of a Baptist. If the stubborn, irresistible, unbending facts of the case are sufficient to force such an admission from an author publicly committed to, and the avowed advocate of, an opposite practice, what would be the conclusion of an uncommitted and impartial man?

But Prof. S. nor any other man is entitled to his doubts, unless he can show a reasonable ground to doubt. It irresistibly follows, as a logical consequence, that, if to dip, or to immerse, is the natural signification of *baptizo*, and the rite of baptism was *usually* performed by immersion in the days of Christ and his apostles, that it was *invariably* so performed, unless in those peculiar instances where an obvious impossibility can be shown. Now Prof. S. does not pretend that he can find one such instance, but candidly confesses there is not one such. He only claims that in the three passages he mentions, affusion would have been more convenient.

But one passage, which Prof. S. fully warrants us to translate, closes this discussion for ever. "There is one Lord, one faith, one *immersion*."

Prof. Stuart, fully convinced that he has entirely surrendered the action of baptism to the Baptists, and as though concerned for the result to leave it so, raises the singular question, "Is the rite essential?" We say it is a most astonishing question for a Protestant to ask, "Is it necessary to observe the particular rite which Christ commanded?" For a man or a church to assume the right to change the laws and ordinances of Christ, by amendment, substitution, addition, or diminution, is to claim the exercise of Popish assumptions, and to convict himself of the blasphemy and impiety of Antichrist. And do Protestants confess themselves dissatisfied with the ordinances as Christ instituted them, and plead to be allowed to change them to suit their

tastes and conveniences? And can a Christian find it in his heart to find out some other path than the one his Saviour marked out for his disciples, and consecrated by his own foot-steps, or to climb up some other way? Is not the language of every regenerated heart, "I esteem *all* thy precepts concerning *all things* to be right, and I hate every false way?" and does he not regard the solemn injunctions of God, "Ye shall not add unto the word which I command you, neither shall ye diminish aught from it, that ye may keep the commandments of the Lord your God which I now command you"? And will he not respect the approbation of the Apostle, "Now I praise you, brethren, that you remember me in all things, and *keep the ordinances as I delivered them to you*"? But, above all, will he not cheerfully acquiesce in the last command of his Saviour, teaching them to observe "*all things whatsoever I have commanded you*"? Now, immersion was one of the "*all things*;" for when Christ commanded his ministers to baptize, and his disciples to be baptized, he, according to Prof. S.'s own proving, undoubtedly commanded the former to immerse, and the latter to be immersed. How can a Christian, a friend and lover of Christ, find it in his heart to desire to change this rite by substituting something else in its place?

We are grieved to say that Prof. S. substantially raises the question, "Will not some other action do as well as the one Christ appointed?" and he pleads that it will! But, still more astounding for a Protestant, he argues through a score of pages, to support the doctrine of the "Man of Sin" and "Son of Perdition," that the *Church* has the right to change the rites and ordinances of Christ! He declares that he most heartily subscribes to this opinion of John Calvin: "It is of no consequence at all whether the person baptized is totally immersed, or whether he is merely sprinkled by an affusion of water. This should be a matter of choice to the churches

in different regions, *although the word baptize signifies to immerse, and the rite of immersion was practiced by the ancient Church.*"

This, we say, is the baldest feature of Antichrist: "and he shall think to change times and laws." It is a remarkable fact that all Protestant societies claim the same power. The following article in the Methodist Discipline was copied from the Book of Common Prayer of the Episcopal Hierarchy,—for we cannot call it Church.

• "Every particular Church may ordain, change, or abolish, rites and ceremonies, so that all things may be done to edification."

The whole question at issue between Baptists and Presbyterians and Protestants, touching the action of baptism, is now out in broad daylight. It is this: "Have we—has the Church, a right to change an ordinance of Christ? If not, then we have no right to change the action of baptism. If so, then we have a right to change *every* ordinance he instituted. And more, since the power to change implies the power to enact or abolish, then we have the right to abolish every positive institution of Christ, and enact others to suit our tastes and convenience. These conclusions are inevitable. It was the assumption of this impious right that emboldened the Church of Rome to 'change and ordain rites and ceremonies.' "

The simple question, made personal, is this: Since Christ commands me to be *immersed*, do I obey him if I am *sprinkled* or *poured upon*? No two acts are more unlike than an immersion in water, and a few drops of water sprinkled upon the forehead, or, as Presbyterians now sprinkle, having the moistened fingers of the minister laid upon the forehead (which, by the way, is not sprinkling). To walk, to ride, to fly, are as diverse acts as to immerse, to pour, to sprinkle. By what criterion shall we decide this question? Baptists

answer, "By the Scriptures, and common sense." We open the Scriptures and read, "What things soever I command you, observe to do it: thou shalt not add thereto, nor diminish from it." Can any one suppose that God was so particular that the minutest direction concerning the administration of the rites and ordinances of the tabernacle should be scrupulously followed, and yet we be left with impunity to alter or amend, change or abolish, the ordinances of the Church of Christ, to accommodate them to our tastes or conveniences? When God commands one thing, may we obey him by doing something altogether different? God commanded Noah to make an ark of *Gopher-wood*: would he have obeyed the command had he made it of cypress or pine? Prof. S. talks about the "*essence*"—the "*circumstance*" of religion, and says that an *external* rite, to all intents and purposes of any possible consequence, is *essentially* preserved or performed when its *significance* is *essentially* kept up. But who is to sit upon God's commands, and decide the essence or peculiar significance of each, so that we may be infallibly certain, in every case, that we are "*essentially*" obeying the command, when we violate its letter? The principle laid down by Prof. S. would compel him to answer with the Catholic, "*The Church, sir.*" But who, or what, or where is the Church? And he must again reply, "Why, sir, the Church is the—the Church;" and here the circle closes. God commanded Abraham to offer up Isaac. Would he have obeyed God had he taken Ishmael? Might not Abraham have reasoned, "The essence of this command is, that I offer up one of my sons, and he leaves me my choice. Ishmael is one of my sons, and it is my choice, for several reasons, to offer him, rather than Isaac!" Noah might have reasoned, "The essence of this command is to build an ark: the particular wood commanded to be used is an external circumstance, and belongs not to the

essence; and therefore I am left to use the wood most convenient, and that will be the easiest to work." Abihu and Nadab may have reasoned similarly to Prof. S., but it cost them their lives to put it into practice, and yet they only transgressed a rite of *external* observance.

The following language of Dr. Dana, an eminent Pedobaptist, when rebuking the incipient move, on the part of some, to substitute water, or molasses and water, for the wine of the Lord's Supper, and the specious reasonings of Prof. Stuart, Chapin, and others, who argue for the right of the Church to change the ordinances, we deem equally appropriate here: for is not baptism a positive institution, and equally important, and does it not as imperiously demand our unqualified and implicit obedience, as the Supper? If we may not dare to change the one ordinance in the least respect, will we presume to *abolish* the other altogether, as we should do by changing the action from immersion to sprinkling; for baptism is a *rite*, and a rite is nothing but a *mode*; to change the mode is to change the rite: it is abolishing one rite, and instituting another in its place.

"Who sees not," says he, "that in regard to positive Divine institutions, our duty is equally plain and imperious—the duty of unqualified, implicit submission? Here all *à priori* reasonings are out of place; all objections are palpably fallacious; and every plan, and every thought of change or modification, ought to be resisted with horror. The positive institutions of heaven are emphatically trials, both of our faith and our obedience. They bring home the question, whether we will submit our understanding to the Divine guidance, as well as our will to the Divine pleasure. To oppose them is to dispute Infinite authority. To attempt their improvement, is to prefer our ignorance to the wisdom of Heaven. To dispense with them, or any of them, is to repeal the laws of the Sovereign of the universe." (Review

of Chapin's Essay on Sacramental Use of Wine. By Rev. Daniel Dana, D.D., p.656.)

INFANT BAPTISM, Prof. S. makes not the slightest effort to defend. He considers the practice proper and expedient, though frankly confesses "commands, or plain and certain examples in the New Testament, relative to it, I do not find." What then are his grounds? He says, "The general analogy of the ancient dispensation; the enlargement of it under the new; the *silence* of the New Testament." But does the old dispensation furnish any analogy? What does Prof. S. say elsewhere?—

"How unwary, too, are many excellent men, in contending for infant baptism on the ground of the Jewish analogy of circumcision. \* \* \* *Numberless difficulties* present themselves in our way, as soon as we begin to argue in such a manner as this."—*Com. O. T.*, Ch. 22. Again: "The Covenant of Circumcision furnishes no ground for infant baptism."

—*Lecture on Galatians.*

The Old Testament, any more than the New Testament, affords us no warrant, and are we at liberty to foist infant baptism into the list of Church ordinances and Christian duties, because, forsooth, *we* may deem it proper or expedient? The establishment of such a principle would be the opening of Pandora's box, and crowd the Church with all the traditions and senseless mummeries of the Romish apostacy.

We have now noticed this work of Mr. Stuart, so far as our limits will permit. We conceive the singular weakness of his reasonings as a Pedobaptist, and the popish grounds he is compelled to take in attempting to sustain the practice of sprinkling, as well as infant baptism, will constitute a more powerful argument in the hands of Baptists, than even the facts which, as a scholar, he so frankly admits.

J. R. GRAVES.

•Nashville, Jan. 1855.

## P R E F A C E .

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THE immediate occasion of writing the present dissertation, it may not be improper to state by quotations below from two among the many letters that I have received in relation to the subject of it. It has been impossible for me to give any satisfactory answer, in the way of private letters, to my correspondents making inquiries with regard to the subject of baptism. It would occupy all my time, and be nearly a fruitless labor, to attempt it. I hope to be borne with by that class of readers who are not deeply interested in a dispute about rites and forms, when I appeal to them and ask them, Whether it is not time that the stumbling-block so often thrown in the way of Christians respecting the *mode* of baptism, should be removed, and the churches no longer divided by contentions about it? If so, and if the following pages may have any tendency towards effecting so desirable an end, then such readers, I would hope, will not, all things considered, task me with doing amiss, because I have engaged in the present discussion.

The letters above alluded to are the following; to which a brief reply will be found at the close of this discussion:—

MAULMEIN AND RANGOON. *May, 1832.*

REV. AND DEAR SIR,—

We beg leave to request your decision on the fol-

lowing questions, concerning which some discrepancy of opinion obtains among the members of our mission :—

1. In translating and publishing the New Testament in the language of Burmah, shall we retain or reject the disputed passage in 1 John v. 7?

2. Shall we transfer the Greek word *βαπτίζω* into the Burman language, when it relates to the ordinance of baptism, or translate it by a word significant of immersion, or by a word of some other import?

3. Are the words contained in Acts. xix. 5, the words of Paul, or of the author; and if there be an ambiguity in the original, how shall we decide, when translating into a language like the Burman, whose idiom positively requires that the question be ascertained?

We remain, Rev. and dear Sir,

Most respectfully yours,

C. BENNETT, JNO. TAYLOR JONES, A. JUDSON;  
EUGENIO KINCAID, J. WADE.

The second letter is *anonymous*, but is evidently from some friend who appears to have thought seriously on the subject of baptism. It was received last December. I give only those parts which have relation to the *arguments* in the case. They are as follows :—

December 3, 1832.

REV. AND DEAR SIR,—

Allow me to submit the following remarks to your consideration :—

*First*, we do not obey the command of Christ to be

baptized, unless we are *immersed*. You probably will not question the two following propositions: Baptism is nothing but a rite; a rite is nothing but a form. Are not, then, the following conclusions just, viz., that if we would receive the baptism, we must perform the rite; and that, if we would perform the rite, we must observe the form? If these deductions be correct, will it not follow, that if we are immersed, we have observed the form; that if we have observed the form, we have performed the rite; and that, if we have performed the rite, we have received the baptism, or, in other words, have obeyed the Saviour's command to be baptized? If we are *sprinkled*, will it not also follow, that we have not observed the form; that if we have not observed the form, we have not performed the rite; and that, if we have not performed the rite, we have not received the baptism, or, in other words, have not obeyed the Saviour's command to be baptized? If a rite be nothing but a form, when we change the form, do we not change the rite itself? If we change the rite, though we may adopt another, which we may think will answer the design of the institution as well, do we obey his directions? Are we not, on the contrary, undertaking to alter what we have every reason to believe is best, as he ordered it to be?

It is sometimes said, that if the *feelings* be right, it is no matter about the *form*; but, from the reasoning of the preceding paragraph, it appears, that while the feelings are right, the form should be observed, if we would obey. This may also be argued from the com-

mand to “believe and be baptized.” Here are two duties enjoined. The first, to believe; the second, to be immersed. The one relates to the feelings with which we are to perform the rite; the other relates to the rite or form enjoined, viz., immersion. The application of water in any other way may be *a rite*, but it is not *the rite* commanded. He who has believed, has discharged the first duty; but he who has been *sprinkled*, has not discharged the second.

*Secondly*, the evil of the separation which is produced among Christians, by their different views of baptism, is very great. You doubtless have noticed the hard and angry feelings which, by conversation upon this subject, have been excited in the bosoms of the truly pious. You have lamented the influence of this, in prejudicing impenitent men against the Gospel; in delaying the anxious, and in destroying the piety of Christians. You have seen that the evil is great. But who causes it? Evidently he who has departed, in practice, from the form laid down in Scripture. If this form be immersion, then those who practise sprinkling have departed from the Bible. They have caused the evil; and to them belongs the guilt.

*Thirdly*, it is desirable that this should be done away. Now, how can this best be effected? How, but by every Christian’s practising the form laid down in Scripture? Is it not, then, the duty of every one to learn the form, and having learned it, to adhere to it? If you believe the form to be immersion, ought you not to practise this, hoping that all Christians will do the same?

Perhaps you may say, if I should renounce sprinkling, others would not; and thus the separation would still continue. Suppose it should, yet you have done your duty, and given your influence to truth. If you excuse yourself, by such reasoning, from pursuing this course, the moderate drinker may excuse himself from total abstinence on the same ground.

*Fourthly*, if we depart in the least from the Bible, either in doctrine or form, we are not safe—we have no stopping-place. The Roman Catholics have departed widely from the Bible in their ceremonies. The forms which they have introduced are numerous. They have destroyed the life of religion among them. These, however, were not introduced all at once. There was one that was first in order. If, however, the entrance of this one had been opposed, how different would have been the state of that church! Instead of being corrupt, it would have been pure. We are safe only by adhering closely to the Bible. Is it not, then, the duty of every Christian who believes immersion only to be baptism, to practise it?

*Fifthly*, as those who are not immersed, but adopt a form of man's invention, do not obey the Saviour's command, so they will not (all other things being equal) enjoy the highest seat in heaven. Regeneration is the only qualification necessary to enter there. All who have been born again will see God. But in heaven there are different grades [degrees] of happiness. The degree which each will enjoy, will be proportioned to the fidelity of his obedience. To explain more fully my meaning: of two persons, who have in

every other respect thought, and acted, and spoken alike, but the one was *immersed* and obeyed, while the other was *sprinkled* and did not obey ; the former must have a higher place in heaven than the latter. If, then, he would be as happy as possible in heaven, ought not he who believes immersion only to be baptism, to practise it ?

Nothing is more common than to hear persons say that the observance of the form is not essential. If they mean, it is not essential in order to enter heaven, we grant it. But to enjoy the most happiness there, it is essential ; since we cannot obey unless we do it, [i. e., unless we are immersed.]

These reasons are communicated briefly ; but if you will think of them, you can supply what is wanting. If the denomination to which you belong are in an error in reference to baptism, and are disobeying the Saviour ; producing this separation, with its attendant evils ; preventing the removal of this separation ; rendering itself insecure, by breaking away from the Bible ; and are pursuing a course which will diminish their happiness in heaven ;—ought not their interests in this respect to suffer,—yea, to be destroyed ? Ought you not to give [your influence] wholly to the cause of truth ? With prayer that you may be led aright, I close.

#### AN INVISIBLE HAND.

These are a specimen of letters which I often receive. Sometimes they are on one side of the question, and sometimes on the other. I have been filled with regret,

while reading such letters, that questions of this nature should thus agitate the Christian Church ; but, as the matter actually is, I know of no way in which a discussion can be well avoided. I have engaged in it with much and sincere reluctance ; but if I must engage, and cannot be let off (which really seems to be the case), then at least I ought not to spend my time in beating the air. I may possibly accomplish thus much, if nothing more, viz., I may be the means of turning the attention of other minds to the whole subject ; and the result of this may be, the final removal of the difficulties that now agitate so many churches. If my discussion should be the occasion of this, it will not be in vain that I have expended so much time and pains upon it.

M. STUART.



# MODE OF CHRISTIAN BAPTISM.

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## § 1. *Form and Classical Use of the word βαπτίζω.*

THE original etymological root of the verbs *βαπτίζω*, *βάπτω*, as also of the nouns *βάπτισις*, *βάπτισμα*, *βαπτισμός*, *βαπτιστήριον*, *βαπτιστής*, *βάπτρια*, *βαφή*, *βαφνις*, *βαφεῖον*, *βαφική*, *βάψιμος*, *βάψις*, and in like manner of the adjectives or verbals *βαπτός*, *βαφικός*, *βάψιμος*,—appears plainly to be the monosyllable *ΒΑΠ*. In all the words derived from this root, there is a similarity of meaning which shows an intimate connection between them.

As to the formation of the words, some of them adopt the smooth and others the rough consonant or *mute*, as grammarians call letters of this class, viz.,  $\pi$  and  $\phi$ ; sometimes with, and sometimes without, any special variation of meaning. The leading and original meaning of *ΒΑΠ* seems to have been *dipping*, *plunging*, *immersing*, *soaking*, or *drenching*, in some liquid substance. As kindred to this meaning, and closely united with it, i. e., as an effect resulting from such a cause, the idea of *dyeing*, *colouring*, *tinging*,

seems also to have been often associated with the original root, and to have passed into many of its derivates. For example: *βαπτός*, *dipped*, *immersed*, *coloured*; *βάπτω*, *to dip*, *plunge*, *dye*, *colour*; *βαφεύς*, *a dyer*, usually limited to this signification; *βαφή*, *dipping*, *plunging*, *immersing*, *the act of colouring*, *colouring-stuff* or *matter*, *dye*; *βαφικός*, *what belongs or is appropriate to dipping*, *immersing*, or *to colouring*, *dyeing*; *βαφική* (sc. *τέχνη*), *the art of dyeing*; *βαφεῖον*, *a dyer's work-shop*; *βάψις*, *the act of immersion*, or *of dyeing*; *βάψιμος*, *to be immersed* (quasi *immersable*), or *to be coloured*; all of which shew that there is a frequent interchange of meaning in the above derived words, and a similarity between them all; and also that the two ideas of *immersion* and of *dyeing* or *colouring* lie at the basis of the words derived from *ΒΑΠ*, in most of their forms; although, in a few cases, *usage* has confined some particular words among these derivates solely to one class of meanings; e. g., *βαφεύς*, *a dyer*, *βαφεῖον*, *a dyer's shop*, *βάπτισις*, *immersion*, *submersion*, *washing*, etc. Such a limited usage of a few of these derivative nouns, however, is probably the result merely of convenience and custom, and lies not in the original nature itself of the words thus employed; for as they are obviously from the root *ΒΑΠ*, so they might be employed, if usage had thus determined, like nearly all its other numerous derivates, in the twofold sense of *dipping* or *immersing*, and of *dyeing* or *colouring*.

For the present, I merely state the fact in relation to these several meanings of the root *ΒΑΠ* and its derivates. The reader is desired particularly to notice

what has been stated, viz., that while most of the nouns derived from BAII have a twofold sense, that of *immersion* and that of *dyeing*, yet some of them are employed only in one sense exclusively, either that of *immersion*, or that of *dyeing*. We shall see, in the sequel, that the verbs  $\beta\acute{a}\pi\tau\omega$  and  $\beta\alpha\pi\tau\iota\zeta\omega$  have distinctions of meaning analogous to these — distinctions which are never confounded by usage; while they both agree in one common and original meaning, viz., that of *immersion* or *plunging*.

In the brief view given above, I have supposed the *original* and literal meaning of the root BAII to be that of *dipping* or *plunging*; and accordingly I have arranged this meaning so as to stand first in order. Still, some may be disposed to consider this as not altogether certain. They may perhaps maintain, that the idea of BAII was *to tinge, dye, or colour*; and that the idea of *plunging* or *dipping* was derived from this, because, in order to accomplish the work of dyeing, the act of plunging or dipping was necessary. But as the idea of *immersing* or *plunging* is common to both the words  $\beta\acute{a}\pi\tau\omega$  and  $\beta\alpha\pi\tau\iota\zeta\omega$ , while that of *dyeing* or *colouring* belongs only to  $\beta\acute{a}\pi\tau\omega$ , it would seem altogether probable, that the former signification is the more usual and natural one, and therefore more probably the *original* one. Accordingly I have so arranged it in my statement above; but at the same time, it should be understood, that the signification of *dyeing* or *colouring*, as attached to the word  $\beta\acute{a}\pi\tau\omega$ , and many forms derived from it, is not less certain than the signification of *dipping* or *immersing*. If the reader will

keep this in mind, he will be enabled in the sequel easily to solve some cases, concerning which there has been dispute among those who have defended views that widely differ in regard to the manner in which the rite of baptism should be performed.

In addition to the two fundamental meanings of the word  $\beta\acute{\alpha}\pi\tau\omega$  as derived from BAI<sup>II</sup>, there are other derived or secondary meanings of the word, which will of course be noted in the sequel, when we come more fully to consider this subject. My present object, and the one first in order, is merely to illustrate, in an intelligible way, the different *forms* of the respective words. I do this first, in order that we may see whether  $\beta\acute{\alpha}\pi\tau\omega$  and  $\beta\alpha\pi\tau\iota\zeta\omega$  are really synonymous, as they have often been asserted to be; or whether they have, in some respects, a real diversity of signification—a question not without importance in regard to the object before us.

It is seldom that any language has two words which in all respects are synonymous, and are both in common usage at one and the same time. Synonymous words may indeed exist in a language, when a *recent* form of a word is substituted for a more ancient one of the same meaning; or when a word of foreign origin coëxists with one that is indigenous and of the same meaning, as is the case in our language with regard to a great number of words derived from the Latin, Greek, French, etc., which coëxist with our indigenous Anglo-Saxon words; or lastly, words of different forms and yet synonymous in sense, may exist in a language which has different dialectical variations,

such as the ancient Greek exhibited. But do any of these reasons exist in respect to  $\beta\alpha\pi\tau\omega$  and  $\beta\alpha\pi\tau\iota\zeta\omega$ , so that on account of them we may take these words as in all respects synonymous?

In quite ancient times, we find evidence of some difference being supposed to exist between them. For example, Tertullian says: "Dehinc ter *mergitamur*," Corona Militis, c. 3. Jerome (advers. Luciferianos) also says, "Nam et multa alia, quæ per traditionem in ecclesiis observantur; velut in lavacro ter caput *mergitare*," etc. Now *mergitō* is a frequentative form of *mergo*. At the same time, however, these fathers, and others who wrote in Latin, often and commonly use the words *tingo*, *mergo*, *demergo*, in order to express the idea conveyed by  $\beta\alpha\pi\tau\iota\zeta\omega$ ; especially do they employ *tingo* and *mergo*. By these latter words, in fact, do the Latin ecclesiastical writers for the most part render  $\beta\alpha\pi\tau\iota\zeta\omega$ , when they really translate the word; for oftentimes, like our English version, they employ the original word itself, *baptizo*, in order to represent the Greek  $\beta\alpha\pi\tau\iota\zeta\omega$ , merely making it conform to the Latin mode of inflection.

It would appear, then, that a feeling existed among some of the Latin fathers, when they rendered  $\beta\alpha\pi\tau\iota\zeta\omega$  by *mergitō*, that  $\beta\alpha\pi\tau\iota\zeta\omega$  is, in its appropriate sense, what the grammarians and lexicographers call a *frequentative verb*, i.e., one which denotes repetition of the action which it indicates. Nor are they alone in this. Some of the best Greek scholars of the present and past age, have expressed the same opinion in a more definite shape.

Buttman lays it down as a principle of the Greek language, that a class of verbs in  $\zeta\omega$ , formed from other verbs, have the signification of *frequentatives*, Gramm. § 119. I. 5. 2. Rost lays down the same principle, Gramm. § 94. 2. b. Both appeal, by way of confirming their opinion, to such examples as  $\sigma\tau\epsilon\nu\omega$ , *to groan or sigh*,  $\sigma\tau\epsilon\nu\alpha\zeta\omega$ , *to sigh or groan often or much*;  $a\iota\tau\epsilon\omega$ , *to ask*,  $a\iota\tau\iota\zeta\omega$ , *to beg*, i.e., *to ask repeatedly*;  $\epsilon\rho\pi\omega$ , *to creep*,  $\epsilon\rho\pi\iota\zeta\omega$ , *to creep along, to continue creeping*;  $\rho\iota\pi\tau\omega$ , *to cast or throw*,  $\rho\iota\pi\tau\alpha\zeta\omega$ , *to throw hither and thither*. In accordance with this, Stephens and Vossius have given their opinions; and the highest authorities of recent date in lexicography have decided in the same way. Passow, Bretschneider, and Donnegan, all affirm that  $\beta\alpha\pi\tau\iota\zeta\omega$  originally and properly means *to dip or plunge often or repeatedly*.

With all deference to such masters of the Greek language, and with the full acknowledgment that *frequentative* verbs may be, and actually are, formed in the way just stated, I must still doubt whether the sense of *frequentativeness* belongs essentially to verbs of this prolonged form, which are derived from other verbs of a shorter and more simple form. My meaning is, that although frequentative verbs may be easily and naturally formed in this way; and although this mode of formation accords well with the genius of the Greek language; yet still, it is rather owing to special usage, in some cases and with regard to particular words, that this prolonged form is employed in this way, than to any absolute general usage or to the nature of the case. Proof will be necessary to sustain

such a declaration against such authorities ; and I proceed to adduce it.

Thus *βλύω*, *to bubble up, to gush forth*, has a kindred verb *βλύζω*, of the same meaning ; *όρκόω*, *to bind by oath, to adjure*, and *όρκίζω* the same ; *ἀλέγω*, *to take care of, to attend to, ἀλεγίζω* the same, with the exception that *ἀλέγω* is not only employed in this sense, but also in the sense of *reckoning up, computing* ; shades of meaning which do not appear to be attached to *ἀλεγίζω*. In like manner *ἔθω*, *to be accustomed, to be wont*, and *ἔθίζω* in the same sense ; *ἡθέω*, *to sift, to strain*, and *ἡθίζω* the same ; *καναχέω* *to ring, to resound, καναχίζω* the same.

In some of the like examples, there is a slight shade of difference in the meaning of the simple and derived verbs. *Ἀλεγίζω* and *ἀλέγω* above are an instance, to show that one of the verbs has greater latitude, in actual usage, than the other. So *θύω* means *to burn incense, to sacrifice, to move violently, to be in a state of fury, to be boisterous*, while *θνάζω* is usually confined to the meanings of *sacrificing and raving* ; *βορβορόω* means *to cover with mud, to change into mire*, while *βορβορίζω* means *to resemble mud or mire or dung, to smell of mud, etc.* ; *ἀνθέω*, *to bloom, to grow up in a flourishing manner*, and *ἀνθίζω*, *to adorn with flowers, to deck with garlands* ; *πλουτέω*, *to be rich*, and *πλουτίζω*, *to make rich* ; *δειπνέω*, *to sup*, and *δειπνίζω*, *to give a supper to others, etc.*

How natural it is, where two kindred words exist in any language, to give one a direction in practice some-

what different from the other, is abundantly illustrated by the examples just produced.

But still, the attentive and intelligent reader will of course remark for himself, that the variations now before us are not of such a nature as to establish the position that a *frequentative* sense is attached to verbs in  $-\zeta\omega$ , derived from other verbs. Gale asserts that not only these verbs just mentioned, but *infinita alia*, are of the tenor above described; and that “the common criticism,” which makes  $\beta\alpha\pi\tau\iota\zeta\omega$  a *diminutive* instead of a frequentative, “is nothing but a ridiculous piece of pedantry.”—*Refl. on Wall's Hist. of Inf. Bapt.* p. 217. That the opinion which he condemns has no foundation in truth, I deem to be quite certain. But that the opposite opinion, which makes  $\beta\alpha\pi\tau\iota\zeta\omega$  a *frequentative* (if by this it is designed to imply that it is necessarily so by the laws of formation, or even by actual usage), is equally destitute of a solid foundation, I feel constrained, on the whole, to believe. The lexicographers who have assigned this meaning to it, appear to have done it on the ground of theoretical principles as to the mode of formation. They have produced no examples in point. And until these are produced, I must abide by the position that a *frequentative* sense is not necessarily attached to  $\beta\alpha\pi\tau\iota\zeta\omega$ ; and that, if it ever have this sense, it is by a speciality of usage of which I have been able to find no example.

I am unable to determine, from the grammars of Buttmann and Rost, as cited above, whether they intend to give it as their opinion, that *all* verbs in  $-\zeta\omega$ ,

derived from other verbs which are shorter and more simple, have a frequentative sense. They merely assert the fact, that to such verbs belongs such a meaning; without defining any limits, in respect to the principle which they lay down. This is leaving the matter at loose ends; inasmuch as the reader can never determine, by what they say, whether they mean to lay down a universal principle of language, or whether they mean merely to aver that there are frequentative verbs in the Greek language, which take the form in question.

To the latter proposition I fully and readily accede; of the former, I have already given reasons why we should doubt. Indeed, there is not a single lexicographer, so far as I know, who has been consistent with himself, if he holds to the general principle in question. Even Passow and Bretschneider, and Donnegan, "quos facile *principes* nominarem," and who have all attributed to  $\beta\alpha\pi\tau\iota\zeta\omega$  the sense of a frequentative, have given to many of the verbs in  $-\omega$  and  $-\zeta\omega$ , named above, the very same sense; and have thus shown that they do not regard the principle concerning frequentatives, as laid down in the grammars, to be any thing more than one of *partial* application. That it actually applies in real usage to  $\beta\alpha\pi\tau\iota\zeta\omega$ , none of them have even attempted to prove by examples.

What, then, is the foundation of such an assertion, in writers of such distinguished knowledge and acuteness as the grammarians and lexicographers mentioned above? Two reasons, as it seems to me, may be given for it with probability; first, that there are

some clear and undoubted cases in which verbs in -ζω have a frequentative sense; as in *στένω στενάζω*, *altéω aítízω*, *έρπω érpízω*, *ρίπτω ríptázω*; secondly, that the usage of the Greek language forms many verbs in -ζω in such a way, that they denote usual, customary, or often-repeated and habitual action; e. g., 'Ελληνίζω, *to speak as a Greek*, *βαρβαρίζω*, *to act or speak as a foreigner*, *Σκυθίζω*, *to act like a Scythian*, *Φιλιππίζω*, *to take part with Philip*, etc. The frequency and extent of the two classes of verbs just named, would seem to give some colouring to the assertion, that verbs in -ζω, generally, might be considered as a species of *intensive* verbs; but Buttmann himself avers (and very rightly), in another place, that verbs of this ending can be reduced to no definite species, § 119. I. 3. d. Let the reader consult *δικάζω*, *χειμάζω*, *μελίζω*, *θερίζω*, *λακτίζω*, etc.

On the whole, I am unable to make out for verbs in -ζω, any peculiarity of meaning, as appropriate to them only. Not even where they are derived from more simple verbs, does such a difference always, or even more usually, exist. It follows, then, that we are to regard *βαπτίζω*, so far as its mere *form* is concerned, and unless there are special reasons for viewing it differently, as only an example of a *prolonged* and secondary form of a verb; of which there are so many scores of examples in the Greek language, particularly in the Present and Imperfect tenses.

Dismissing, then, the question of mere *form*, let us now inquire, whether in actual usage *βαπτίζω* has a different meaning from *βάπτω*. In particular, is it

distinguished from  $\beta\acute{a}\pi\tau\omega$  by the writers of the New Testament?

The answer to these questions will be fully developed in the sequel. I have already intimated that  $\beta\alpha\pi\tau\acute{\iota}\omega$  is distinguished from  $\beta\acute{a}\pi\tau\omega$  in its meaning. I now add, that it is not, like this latter word, used to designate the idea of *colouring* or *dyeing*; while in some other respects, it seems, in classical use, to be nearly or quite synonymous with  $\beta\acute{a}\pi\tau\omega$ . In the New Testament, however, there is one other marked distinction between the use of these verbs.  $\beta\alpha\pi\tau\acute{\iota}\omega$  and its derivates are exclusively employed, *when the rite of baptism is to be designated* in any form whatever; and in this case,  $\beta\acute{a}\pi\tau\omega$  seems to be purposely, as well as habitually, excluded.

Let us come now, for the fuller development of this matter, to the more important part of our inquiry under the first head, viz., *What are the classical meanings of  $\beta\acute{a}\pi\tau\omega$  and  $\beta\alpha\pi\tau\acute{\iota}\omega$ ?* In some measure I have been obliged to anticipate the answer to this inquiry, in the statements which I have already made; but I come now to the exhibition of the *grounds* on which we must rest the positions that have been advanced, and others also which are still to be advanced.

1.  $\beta\acute{a}\pi\tau\omega$  and  $\beta\alpha\pi\tau\acute{\iota}\omega$  mean *to dip, plunge, or immerse*, into any thing liquid. All lexicographers and critics of any note are agreed in this. My proof of this position, then, need not necessarily be protracted; but for the sake of ample confirmation, I must beg the reader's patience, while I lay before him, as briefly as may be, the results of an investigation, which seems to

leave no room for doubt. Take the following examples from the classics:

Homer, Od. I. 392: *As when a smith DIPS or PLUNGES (βάπτει) a hatchet or huge pole-ax into cold water, viz., to harden them [it].*

Pindar, Pyth. II. 139, describes the impotent malice of his enemies, by representing himself to be like the cork upon a net in the sea, which does not sink: *As when a net is cast into the sea, the cork swims above, so am I UNPLUNGED (ἀβάπτιστος); on which the Greek scholiast, in commenting, says: "As the cork οὐ δύνει, does not sink, so I am ἀβάπτιστος, unplunged, not immersed. . . . The cork remains ἀβάπτιστος, and swims on the surface of the sea, being of a nature which is ἀβάπτιστος; in like manner I am ἀβάπτιστος."* In the beginning of this explanation, the scholiast says: *"Like the cork of a net in the sea, οὐ βαπτίζομαι, I am not plunged or sunk."* The frequent repetition of the same words and sentiment, in this scholion, shows, in all probability, that it is compiled from different annotators upon the text. But the sense of *βαπτίζω* in all, is too clear to admit of any doubt.

Aristotle, de Color. c. 4, says: *By reason of heat and moisture, the colours enter into the pores of things DIPPED INTO THEM (τῶν βαπτομένων).* De Anima, III. c. 12. *If a man DIPS (βάψειε) any thing into wax, it is moved so far as it is dipped.* Hist. Animal. VIII. c. 2, speaking of certain fish, he says: *They cannot endure great changes, such as that, in the summer-time, THEY SHOULD PLUNGE (βάπτωσι) into cold water.* Ibid. c. 29, he speaks of giving diseased elephants

warm water to drink, and DIPPING ( $\beta\acute{a}\pi\tau\omega\tau\epsilon\varsigma$ ) hay into honey for them.

Aristophanes, in his comedy of *The Clouds*, Act I. Sc. 2, represents Socrates as gravely computing how many times the distance between two of its legs, a flea could spring at one leap; and in order to ascertain this, the philosopher *first melted a piece of wax, and then taking the flea, he DIPPED or PLUNGED ( $\acute{e}v\acute{e}\beta\alpha\phi\epsilon$ ) two of its feet into it*, etc.

Heraclides Ponticus, a disciple of Aristotle, Allegor. p. 495, says: *When a piece of iron is taken red hot from the fire, and PLUNGED in the water ( $\check{\nu}\delta\alpha\tau\iota\beta\alpha\pi\tau\iota\zeta\epsilon\tau\alpha\iota$ ), the heat, being quenched by the peculiar nature of the water, ceases.*

Herodotus, in Euterpe, speaking of an Egyptian who happens to touch a swine, says: *Going to the river [Nile], he DIPS himself ( $\acute{e}\beta\alpha\phi\epsilon\acute{\epsilon}\omega\acute{\nu}\tau\acute{\tau}\acute{\nu}$ ) with his clothes.*

Aratus, in his Phaenom. v. 650, speaks of the constellation Cepheus as DIPPING ( $\beta\acute{a}\pi\tau\omega\tau$ ) *his head or upper part into the sea.* In v. 858 he says: *If the sun DIP ( $\beta\acute{a}\pi\tau\omega\iota$ ) himself cloudless into the western flood.* Again, in v. 951, *If the crow has DIPPED ( $\acute{e}\beta\acute{a}\phi\omega\tau\omega$ ) his head into the river, etc.*

Xenophon, Anab. II. 2. 4, describes the Greeks and their enemies as *sacrificing a goat, a bull, a wolf, and a ram, and DIPPING ( $\beta\acute{a}\pi\tau\omega\tau\epsilon\varsigma$ ) into a shield [filled with their blood], the Greeks the sword, the Barbarians the spear*, in order to make a treaty that could not be broken.

Plutarch, Parall. Graec. Rom. p. 545, speaking of the stratagem of a Roman general, in order to ensure

victory, says: *He set up a trophy, on which, DIPPING his hand into blood (εἰς τὸ αἷμα . . . βαπτίσας), he wrote this inscription, etc.* In Vol. VI. p. 680 (edit. Reiske), he speaks of iron PLUNGED (*βαπτόμενον*), viz., into water, in order to harden it. Ibid. p. 633, PLUNGE (*βάπτισον*) yourself into the sea. Vol. X. p. 118, Then PLUNGING (*βαπτίζων*) himself into the lake Copais.

Lucian, Vol. I. p. 139, represents Timon, the man-hater, as saying: *If a winter's flood should carry away any one, and he, stretching out his hands, should beg for help, I would press down the head of such an one when SINKING (*βαπτίζοντα*), so that he could not rise up again.*

Diodorus Siculus, edit. Heyne IV. p. 118, *Whose ship being SUNK or MERGED (*βαπτισθείσης*).* Some other editions read *βυθισθείσης, plunged into the deep,* which is a good gloss.

Plato, De Repub. IV. p. 637, represents dyers, who wish to make a permanent colour, as first choosing out wool, sorting and working it over, *and then (*βάπτονται*) THEY PLUNGE IT, viz., into the dye-stuff.*

Epictetus, III. p. 69, ed. Schwiegh. in a fragment of his work says: *As you would not wish, sailing in a large ship adorned and abounding with gold, to BE SUNK or IMMERGED (*βαπτίζεσθαι*), so, etc.*

Hippocrates, p. 532, edit. Basil: *Shall I not laugh at the man who SINKS (*βαπτίσοντα*) his ship by overloading it, and then complains of the sea for ingulfsing it with its cargo?* On p. 50, TO DIP (*βάπτειν*) the probes in some emollient. P. 51, DIPPING (*βάψασα*) the rag in ointment, etc. P. 104. Cakes DIPPED (*ἐμβαπτόμενοι*)

into sour swine. P. 145, DIPPING ( $\beta\alpha\pi\tau\omega\nu$ ) sponges in warm water. And in the same way, in all parts of his book, in instances almost without number.

Strabo, Lib. VI. p. 421, speaking of a lake near Agrigentum, says: *Things that elsewhere cannot float, DO NOT SINK ( $\mu\bar{n}\beta\alpha\pi\tau\iota\zeta\epsilon\sigma\theta\alpha\iota$ ) in the water of this lake, but swim in the manner of wood.* XII. p. 809, *If one shoots an arrow into the channel [of a certain rivulet in Cappadocia], the force of the water resists it so much, that it will scarcely PLUNGE IN ( $\beta\alpha\pi\tau\iota\zeta\epsilon\sigma\theta\alpha\iota$ ).* XIV. p. 982, *They [the soldiers] marched a whole day through the water, PLUNGED IN ( $\beta\alpha\pi\tau\iota\zeta\omega\mu\epsilon\nu\omega\nu$ ) up to the waist.* XVI. p. 1108, *The bitumen floats on the top [of the lake Sirbon], because of the nature of the water, which admits of no diving; nor can any one who enters it PLUNGE IN ( $\beta\alpha\pi\tau\iota\zeta\epsilon\sigma\theta\alpha$ ), but is borne up.*

Polybius, III. 72, *The foot soldiers passed through [the water] scarcely IMMERSED to the paps.* See also V. 47.

Josephus, Ant. IX. 10, speaking of the ship in which Jonah was, says  $\mu\acute{e}l\lambda\lambda\omega\tau\omega\varsigma\beta\alpha\pi\tau\iota\zeta\epsilon\sigma\theta\alpha\iota\tau\omega\varsigma\sigma\acute{k}\alpha\phi\omega\varsigma$ , *the ship being about to SINK.* In the History of his own Life, speaking of a voyage to Rome, during which the ship that carried him foundered in the Adriatic, he says: *Our ship being IMMERSED or SINKING ( $\beta\alpha\pi\tau\iota\zeta\epsilon\sigma\theta\alpha\iota\sigma\acute{e}\nu\tau\omega\varsigma$ ) in the midst of the Adriatic.* Speaking of Aristobulus as having been drowned by command of Herod, Bell. Jud. I, he says: *The boy was sent to Jericho, and there, agreeably to command, being IMMERSED in a pond ( $\beta\alpha\pi\tau\iota\zeta\omega\mu\epsilon\nu\sigma\acute{e}\nu$   $\bar{\epsilon}\nu\kappa\lambda\eta\mu\beta\eta\theta\bar{\rho}\alpha$ ), he perished.* Bell. Jud. II, *As they [the sailors] swam away from a*

SINKING ship (*βαπτιζομένης νεύσ*). Bell. Jud. III, *The wave being raised very high, OVERWHELMED or IMMERGED them (ἐβάπτισε.)*

It were easy to enlarge this list of testimonies to usage; but the reader will not desire it. He may see many examples in Carson's recent publication on baptism; which I did not see, until after the present dissertation was written. It is impossible to doubt that the words *βάπτω* and *βαπτίζω* have, in the Greek classical writers, the sense of *dip*, *plunge*, *immerge*, *sink*, etc. But there are variations from this usual and prevailing signification; i.e., shades of meaning kindred to this (as happens in respect to most words), some literal and some figurative, which demand, of course, our special notice.

2. The verb *βάπτω* means *to plunge* or *thrust* into any thing that is solid, but permeable; *to plunge in* so as to cover or inclose the thing plunged.

Some place here the example in Sophocles, Ajax v. 95, rendering it: *Thou hast PLUNGED deep (ἐβαψας εν) thy sword INTO the Grecian army*; but here *πρός Ἀργείων στράτω*, seems not to admit of this construction, as it means *with*, or *by means of*, the Grecian army. See under No. 6, in the sequel.

Lycophron, Cassand. v. 1121, representing Orestes as about to punish Clytemnestra for murder, says: *The child . . . shall with his own hand PLUNGE (βάψει) his sword into the viper's bowels.*

Philippus, in Jacobs' Anthol., says: *He THRUST (ἐβαψε) his whole chin into the belly of the ram.*

Dionysius of Halicarnassus, Ant. Rom. V 15, says:

*The one THRUST (βάψας) his spear between the other's ribs, who at the same instant [thrust his] into his belly.*

Euripides, Phœniss. 1593, *Taking his sounding scimitar from the dead, he PLUNGED it (ἔβαψε) into the flesh.*

So far as I have observed, the verb *βάπτω* is exclusively employed in all such cases.

3. The verb *βάπτω* only is employed, in order to convey the meaning, *to dip out, to dip up*, by plunging a vessel into a liquid and drawing it up.

Euripides, Hec. 607 sq. *But go, you old maid-servant, take a vessel, [and] DIPPING it (βάψασα), bring some sea-water hither.* On this the scholiast remarks, that *βάπτειν* means *to let down into the water or any liquid.*

Theocritus, Idyll. V. 126. *Every morning, instead of water, the maid shall DIP OUT (βάψαι) a cup of honey.* Idyll. XIII. 46, *The lad directed his large pitcher towards the water, hastening to DIP it (βάψαι).*

Hermolaus, *He DIPPED (ἔβαψε) his pitcher in the water;* cited in Gale's *Refl. on Wall*, p. 121.

Lycophron, Cassand. 1365, *DIPPING UP (βάψαντες) pleasure with foreign buckets.*

Aristotle, Quæst. Mechan. c. 27, *One must DIP (βάψαι), viz., the bucket, and then draw it up.*

Euripides, Hippol. 123, *Bubbling water DIPPED UP (βάψαν) with pitchers.*

Callimachus, Hymn. in Lavacr. Pallad. 45: *To day, ye bearers of water, DIP UP NONE (μηδὲ βάπτετε), viz., dip up none from the river Inachus;* as the context shows.

Nicander, as quoted by Spanheim in his note on the above passage, says: *αὐτὴν ἀλλα βάπτε, DRAW UP the*

sea-water itself. On this the scholiast remarks, that *βάπτε* stands for *ἀντλεῖ*, *γέμιζε*, *draw up, fill*.

4. The verb *βάπτω* only (and its derivatives in point of form), signifies *to tinge, dye, or colour*.

Thus in the *Batrachom.* of Homer, v. 218, speaking of one of the champions which was slain, the poet says: *He fell, without even looking upwards, and the lake WAS TINGED (ἐβάπτετο) with blood.*

Aristophanes, Plut. Act. II. Sc. 5, *Do not adorn yourself with garments of variegated appearance, COLOURED (βαπτῶν adj.) at a great expense.*—In Aves, p. 526, the poet speaks of *ὅρνις βαπτός*, a COLOURED bird. In Acharn. Act. I. Sc. 1, he makes one of his bullies say: *Lest I TINGE you with a Sardinian hue, σὲ βάψω βάμψα Σαρδινιακόν*, i. e., beat you until you are all besmeared with blood; in other words, until you become of a red colour.

Aristotle, De Color. c. 4. ad fin.: *The colour of things DYED (τῶν βαπτομένων) is changed by the aforesaid causes.*

Lucian, I. p. 39, *He was present at the exhibition, having on a garment COLOURED (βαπτόν);* in opposition to the usual custom of the Athenians, who wore white garments on the occasion here alluded to.

Herodotus, Lib. VII. 67, *The Sarangae adorn themselves with garments that are COLOURED (βεβαμένα).*

Plutarch, VI. p. 680, *Then perceiving that his beard was COLOURED (βαπτόμενον), and his head.*

Diodorus Siculus, Tom. III. p. 315, *They [the Gauls] wear singular garments, coats DYED (βαπτοῖς), and flowered with various colours, etc.* Tom. II. p. 149,

*The physiologists, reasoning from these things, show, that native warmth has TINGED (ἔβαψεν) the above variety of the growth of the things before mentioned; he refers to the variety of colours in various precious stones, birds, etc.*

Marcus Antoninus, Lib. V. § 16, *For the soul is TINCTURED (βάπτεται) by the thought; TINGE it (βάπτε), then, by accustoming yourself to such thoughts, etc.*

Plato, De Repub. IV. p. 637, *The DYERS (οἱ βαφεῖς), when they are desirous TO DYE (βάψαι) wool, so as to make it purple . . . and whatever may be DYED (βαφῆ) in this manner, the thing DYED (τὸ βαφέν) becomes strongly tinctured.—If any one DYE (βαπτῆ) other colours, etc.—That they may receive the laws in the best manner, as a DYE (βαφήν), that their opinion may be durable . . . And those streams cannot wash out THE DYE (βαφήν), although they are very efficient to wash out, etc.*

Helladius, in Jacob's Anthol. III. p. 145,

Βάπτων πάντα, βαφεῦ, καὶ χρωματίους μεταβάλλων,  
Καὶ πενίην βάψας, πλόνσιος ἔξεφάνης.

DYER, who TINGEST all things, and dost change them by thy colours, thou hast TINGED poverty also, and now appearest to be rich. The epigram was made upon a dyer, who, although once poor, had become rich. The conceit of the poet is singular enough; but the manner in which *βάπτω* and its kindred forms are used, cannot be mistaken.

Josephus, Ant. III. 6. 1, *Some DYED (βεβαμένας) with hyacinth, and some with purple.*

No doubt, then, can remain that the word *βάπτω* means to tinge, or colour; and in this respect it seems plainly to differ from *βαπτίζω*. I find no instance in

which the latter is employed in this way. There may be some, which have escaped the extensive search that I have made. But until I see them produced, I must believe that the sense of *tinging* is appropriated only to  $\beta\acute{a}\pi\tau\omega$ , and to its kindred words in respect to form. I am aware that Passow assigns to  $\beta\alpha\pi\tau\iota\sigma\tau\eta\varsigma$  the meaning of *baptizer*, *plunger*, and *dyer*; but of the last meaning I must now doubt, until some examples are produced. All other words kindred to  $\beta\alpha\pi\tau\iota\sigma\tau\eta\varsigma$  (kindred in form, as coming from  $\beta\alpha\pi\tau\iota\zeta\omega$ ) are destitute of such a sense as that of *dyeing* or *colouring*, according to Passow's own statement.

If the conclusion just stated be correct, then we can see that there exists the like difference between the actual usage of  $\beta\acute{a}\pi\tau\omega$  and  $\beta\alpha\pi\tau\iota\zeta\omega$ , as exists between many other verbs which have the same relation in respect to form, and where the ending in  $-\zeta\omega$  has not the sense of a *frequentative*. The reader by looking back to the statement made above (p. 294 sq.) in relation to this subject, may now satisfy himself still further, that  $\beta\alpha\pi\tau\iota\zeta\omega$  is *not* a frequentative. I have found no instance in which this sense is apparent, so far as the nature of the verb itself is concerned.

5. The word  $\beta\alpha\pi\tau\iota\zeta\omega$  means *to overwhelm*, literally and figuratively, in a variety of ways.

Aristotle, *De Mirabil. Ausc.* speaks of a saying among the Phenicians, that there were certain places, beyond the pillars of Hercules, *which, when it is ebb-tide, are not OVERFLOWED* ( $\mu\bar{n}\beta\alpha\pi\tau\iota\zeta\epsilon\sigma\theta\alpha\iota$ ), *but at full-tide are overflowed* ( $\kappa\alpha\tau\alpha\kappa\lambda\bar{n}\zeta\epsilon\sigma\theta\alpha\iota$ ); which word is here used as an equivalent for  $\beta\alpha\pi\tau\iota\zeta\epsilon\sigma\theta\alpha\iota$ .

Eventus, XV. in Jacobs' Anthol. I. p. 99, says: *If [Bacchus] breathe strongly, it hinders love*, i. e., if a man becomes thoroughly intoxicated, it hinders the gratification of amorous passions; *for he [Bacchus] OVERWHELMED* ( $\beta\alpha\pi\tau\iota\zeta\epsilon\iota$ ) *with a sleep near to death*. Here is the metaphorical sense of the word. And so in most of the following examples.

Heliodorus, *Æthiop.* Lib. IV. p. 192, *When midnight has overwhelmed* ( $\epsilon\beta\alpha\pi\tau\iota\zeta\sigma\sigma$ ) *the city with sleep*. Lib. II. 3, *OVERWHELMED* ( $\beta\epsilon\beta\alpha\pi\tau\iota\sigma\mu\epsilon\nu\sigma$ ) *by misfortune*. See also IV. 20. V. 16.

Clemens, Alex. Pæd. II. p. 182, *By intoxication OVERWHELMED* ( $\beta\alpha\pi\tau\iota\zeta\sigma\mu\epsilon\nu\sigma$ ) *unto sleep*.

Plato, Conviv. p. 176, *I myself am one of those who were DRENCHED or OVERWHELMED* ( $\beta\epsilon\beta\alpha\pi\tau\iota\sigma\mu\epsilon\nu\omega\sigma$ ) *yesterday*, viz., with wine. In another place: *Having OVERWHELMED* ( $\beta\alpha\pi\tau\iota\sigma\sigma\sigma\sigma$ ) *Alexander with much wine*. Euthydem. p. 277, ed. Heindorf, *A youth OVERWHELMED* ( $\beta\alpha\pi\tau\iota\zeta\sigma\mu\epsilon\nu\sigma$ ), viz., with questions.

Lucian, Tom. III. p. 81, *He is like one dizzy and OVERWHELMED* ( $\beta\epsilon\beta\alpha\pi\tau\iota\sigma\mu\epsilon\nu\omega$ ), viz., with wine; used like our vulgar word *fuddled*.

Josephus, Ant. X. 9. 4: *Seeing him in this condition and OVERWHELMED*, ( $\beta\epsilon\beta\alpha\pi\tau\iota\sigma\mu\epsilon\nu\sigma$ ) *by excessive drinking into shamelessness and sleep*.

Philo Judaeus, Vol. II. p. 478, *I know some, who, when they easily become intoxicated, before they are entirely OVERWHELMED* ( $\pi\rho\iota\nu\tau\epsilon\lambda\epsilon\omega\sigma\beta\alpha\pi\tau\iota\sigma\theta\eta\nu\sigma$ ), viz., with wine.

Diodorus Siculus, Tom. I. p. 107, *Most of the land animals that are intercepted by the river [Nile] perish*,

*being OVERWHELMED βαπτίζομενα); here used in the literal sense. Tom. VII. p. 191, The river, borne along by a more violent current, OVERWHELMED (ἐβάπτισε) many;—the literal signification. Tom. I. p. 129, And because théy [the nobles] have a supply by these means [presents], they do not OVERWHELM their subjects with taxes. Figurative.*

Justin Martyr, Dialog. cum Tryphone, p. 313: βεβαπτισμένος ἀμαρτίαις, OVERWHELMED with sins.

Plutarch, Tom. VI. p. 30, *The soul is nourished by moderate labours, but is OVERWHELMED (βαπτίζεται) by excessive ones.* In his *Moralia*, Tom. III. p. 1504, he speaks of Galba as *όφλήμασι βεβαπτισμένον*, OVERWHELMED with debts. In Opp. VIII. p. 345, he says: *ὑπὸ τῶν πραγμάτων βαπτιζομένονς*, OVERWHELMED with business.

Chrysostom, as quoted by Suicer, Thes. Ecc. I. p. 623, 'Υπὸ μέθης βαπτισθῆναι, to be OVERWHELMED with wine;—OVERWHELMED (**βαπτιζόμενος**) with innumerable cares;—having the mind OVERWHELMED (**βεβαπτισμένον**) with a multitude of cares; OVERWHELMED (**βαπτιζόμενοι**) on all sides by the many waves of business;—IMMERGED (**βεβαπτισμένος**) in malignity.—Justin Martyr: OVERWHELMED (**βαπτισθείς**) by drunkenness.

It were easy to increase the number of examples; but these are enough to exhibit both the literal and metaphorical sense of the word. The reader will observe, that in all these examples, the word  $\beta\alpha\pi\tau\iota\zeta\omega$  (and not  $\beta\alpha\pi\tau\omega$ ) is employed; which, with the usage in Nos. 2, 3, 4, is a conclusive argument against supposing that these two words are in all respects synonymous. Usage,

as it plainly appears from all these examples, employs  $\beta\alpha\pi\tau\omega$  exclusively in some shades of meaning;  $\beta\alpha\pi\tau\iota\zeta\omega$  in others; and both in designating the original and generic idea of the root  $\text{BAI}$ , as exhibited in No. 1.

6.  $\text{B}\alpha\pi\tau\omega$  is also employed in the sense *to smear, to bathe*, by the application of liquid to the surface, etc.

Sophocles, Ajax, v. 95,  $\ddot{\epsilon}\beta\alpha\psi\alpha\varsigma\ \epsilon\nu$ , *thou hast well BATHED or SMEARED thy sword, with the Grecian army*, viz., by plunging it into the Grecian soldiers. The construction  $\pi\rho\delta\varsigma\ \text{Aργείων}\ \sigma\tau\rho\acute{\alpha}\tau\omega$  does not seem very well to admit of any other sense, inasmuch as the object *into* which any thing is plunged, is usually put by classic writers, in the Acc. with  $\epsilon\iota\varsigma$ , after the verb  $\beta\alpha\pi\tau\omega$ .  $\Pi\rho\acute{\alpha}\varsigma$ , as above, signifies *by means of, with*, as designating the manner in which the sword was bathed.

Æschylus, Prometh. v. 861, *For the wife has deprived each husband of life, BATHING ( $\beta\alpha\psi\sigma\alpha\sigma\alpha$ ) the sword by slaughter*; where *bathing the sword* means, to make it reek with blood, by plunging it into human bodies.

Aristophanes, 'Ιππεῖς, Act. I. Sc. 3, speaking of Magnes, an old comic player of Athens, represents him as  $\text{Ανδιῖ\zeta\omega\eta}$ ,  $\kappa\alpha\iota\ \psi\eta\eta\iota\zeta\omega\eta$ ,  $\kappa\alpha\iota\ \beta\alpha\pi\tau\mu\eta\eta\varsigma\ \beta\alpha\tau\alpha\chi\eta\iota\varsigma\iota\varsigma$ , *using the Lydian music or measure, and making plays, and SMEARING himself with frog-coloured [paints]*.

Dionysius of Halicarnassus, Vit. Homéri, p. 297, cited by Gale, p. 123, comments on the expression of Homer in Π. XVI. 333, where the poet represents Ajax as killing Cleobulus, and says: *He struck him across the neck, with his heavy sword, and the whole sword became warm with blood.* Upon this Dionysius remarks:

That *the sword was so BATHED* (*βαπτισθέντος*) *with blood, that it became heated by it.* This is capable of being rendered, *so dipped in blood*; and so Gale renders it, p. 123. But if this shade of meaning was designed to be conveyed by Dionysius, would he not have written: *βαπτισθέντος οὕτως εἰς τὸ αἷμα τοῦ ξίφους κ. τ. λ.?* However, I do not consider the example as altogether certain, but adduce it as a probable one.

7. A shade of meaning kindred to the above, viz., *to wash*, i. e., to cleanse by the use of water, is sometimes attached to the word *βάπτω* in the classics.

Aristophanes, in Eccles: *First they WASH* (*βάπτονται*) *the wool in warm water, according to the old custom.* The lexicographers, Suidas and Phavorinus, interpret the word *βάπτονται* here, by *πλύνονται*, *they wash*, or *wash out*; and Stephens says (ad voc. *πλύνω*), that *βάπτω* is peculiarly spoken of garments, as *λούω* is of the body, and *νίπτω* of the hands and feet.—We shall see in the sequel, that this shade of meaning is not unfrequent in the sacred writers, though seldom, so far as I have been able to discover, to be met with in profane writers.

These, I believe, are all the various shades of meaning assigned in the classics to *βάπτω* and *βαπτίζω*. How little ground there is to represent *βαπτίζω* as a *frequentative*, the reader must now see, and be able to judge for himself. He will also be able to judge with how little correctness Gale has asserted (p. 217), that “*βάπτω* and *βαπτίζω* are *ἰσοδύναμαι*, i. e., *exactly the same* as to their signification.” Neither the one nor the other of the above representations agrees with fact. In all the derived or secondary meanings of both *βάπτω*

and  $\beta\alpha\pi\tau\iota\zeta\omega$ , it would seem plain, from the above exhibition of them, that the Greek writers made a diverse and distinct use of the words, never confounding them. Why should lexicographers and critics not have more thoroughly investigated this, before they made representations so little accordant with the state of facts?

I come now to investigate the usage of the sacred records. This we can do with much greater advantage, after the extensive survey of classical usage which has been taken above.

§ 2. *Use of  $\beta\acute{a}\pi\tau\omega$  and  $\beta\alpha\pi\tau\iota\zeta\omega$  in the Septuagint and Apocrypha.*

1. The verb  $\beta\acute{a}\pi\tau\omega$  signifies *to plunge, immerse, dip in.*

Lev. 11: 32, Every vessel [that is unclean] *shall be PLUNGED* ( $\beta\alpha\phi\gamma\sigma\epsilon\tau\alpha\iota$ ) *into water*; Heb. נָבַת, shall be brought or introduced. 4: 6, *And the priest shall DIP* ( $\beta\acute{a}\psi\epsilon\iota$ ) *his finger into the blood*; Heb. נָבַת. 9: 9, *And he* [Aaron] *DIPPED* ( $\epsilon\beta\alpha\psi\epsilon$ ) *his finger into the blood*; Heb. נָבַת. 14: 6, *And he shall DIP* ( $\beta\acute{a}\psi\epsilon\iota$ ) *them . . . into the blood*; Heb. נָבַת. 14: 51, *And he shall DIP* ( $\beta\acute{a}\psi\epsilon\iota$ ) *it into the blood*; Heb. נָבַת.

Num. 19: 18, *And the man that is cleansed shall take hyssop, and DIP it* ( $\beta\acute{a}\psi\epsilon\iota$ ) *into the water*; Heb. נָבַת.

Deut. 33: 24, *And he shall DIP* ( $\beta\acute{a}\psi\epsilon\iota$ ) *his foot in oil* ( $\epsilon\nu\epsilon\lambda\alpha\iota\omega$ , Heb. נָבַת); Heb. corresponding to  $\beta\acute{a}\psi\epsilon\iota$ , נָבַת.

Josh. 3: 15, *The feet of the priests . . . were DIPPED*

(ἐβάφησαν) *into a part of the water of the Jordan* ; Heb. נָבַט.

Ruth 2: 14, *And thou shalt DIP* (βάψεις) *thy morsel in vinegar* (ἐν τῷ ὅξει, χμόπε); Heb. verb נָבַט.

1 Sam. 14: 27, *And he DIPPED* (ἐβαψε) *it*, viz., the end of his sceptre, *into a honey comb* ; Heb. נָבַט.

2 Kings 8: 15, *He took a mattress, and DIPPED it* (ἐβαψε) *in water* (ἐν τῷ ὕδατι, Heb. מִמְּלָאָה); verb נָבַט.

Job 9: 31, *Thou hast PLUNGED me* (μὲν ἐβαψας) *into the mire* (ἐν ρύπῳ, ἡλέῳ, *into the pit or ditch*); Heb. verb נָבַט.

Ps. 67: 23 (68: 24), *That thy foot may be DIPPED* (βαφῇ) *in blood* (ἐν αἷματι, 血); Heb. verb צָבַת.

In like manner βαπτίζω takes the same signification.

2 Kings 5: 14, *And Naaman went down, and PLUNGED HIMSELF* (ἐβαπτίσατο) *seven times into the river Jordan* ; Heb. נָבַט. The prophet Elisha had said: λοῦσαι ἐπτάκις ἐν τῷ Ἰορδάνῃ, WASH THYSELF seven times in the Jordan, 2 Kings 5:10.

These constitute the majority of the examples in the Septuagint, of the words under consideration. The others, which are few in number, I proceed to subjoin.

2. To *smear over* or *moisten* by dipping in ; in which sense I find βάπτω only employed.

Lev. 4:17. *And the priest shall SMEAR OVER or MOISTEN* (βάψει) *his finger, ἀπὸ τοῦ αἷματος, by or with the blood of the bullock* ; Heb. בְּמִן...נָבַט. When then the sense of *plunging into* is directly and fully expressed in Hebrew, it is by using the preposition בְּ

after the verb נִטְבַּח; e. g. נִטְבַּח בְּמִזְבֵּחַ, טְבַבַּח בְּמִזְבֵּחַ, etc. But נִטְבַּח is sometimes used (as in the example above) before the noun designating the liquid element made use of; and then the Seventy have imitated this in such a way, that we are constrained to render their version as I have done above. The same is the case in the next example.

Lev. 14 : 16, *And he [the priest] shall SMEAR OVER (βάψει) his right finger with the oil, ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐλαίου, Heb. נִטְבַּח בְּמִזְבֵּחַ;*

Ex. 12 : 22, *And MOISTENING or SMEARING it [the bundle of hyssop] with the blood βάψαντες ἀπὸ τοῦ αἵματος.* But here the Hebrew has נִטְבַּח בְּמִזְבֵּחַ; and the Seventy, if they had followed their own analogy, would have rendered it βάψαντες εἰς τὸ αἷμα. Inasmuch, however, as they have not so done, it would seem that they meant to give another shade of meaning to the expression.

3. *To overwhelm*; where βαπτίζω is used. Of this I find but one example; and in that the word is used in a figurative way.

Is. 21 : 4, *My iniquity OVERWHELMS me (μὲ βαπτίζει);* where the Hebrew has נִטְבַּח to terrify, etc.

4. Of the sense of *tinging* or *colouring*, given to βάπτω, I find only one example; and here the reading is various and contested, viz.:

Ezek. 23 : 15, where the Septuagint reads παράβαπτα, according to the Roman edition; but other editions read τιάραι βαπταί, coloured turbans. Παράβαπτα means *tinctured, coloured, variegated with colours.* The Hebrew is בְּרוּחִי טְבּוּלִים בְּרוּחִי redundantes mitris, with turbans or

*tiaras redundant*, i. e., having ends hanging down, etc. The word נָבַעַת, a derivate of נָבַע appears here to point to the sense of *tinging, tincturing*, which נָבַע (like the Greek βάπτω) seems once to have had.

5. *To wash, cleanse by water*; where βαπτίζω is used.

Thus it is said of Judith, in c. 12 : 7, that *she went out by night into the valley of Bethulia, and WASHED HERSELF* (ἐβαπτίζετο) *in the camp, at the fountain of water.*

In Sirach 31 : 25, we find the expression (ἐβαπτίζόμενος ἀπὸ νεκροῦ, *he who is CLEANSED from a dead [carcase] and toucheth it again, what does he profit by his washing* (τῷ λουτρῷ αὐτοῦ)? The phrase βαπτίζόμενος ἀπὸ νεκροῦ may be easily explained, by comparing such passages as are to be found in Lev. 11 : 25, 28, 31, 39, 40. Num. 19 : 18, etc., by which it appears, that a person who touched a dead body was ceremonially defiled, and must wash his clothes and his person in order to become clean.

6. *To moisten, wet, bedew*; where βάπτω is used.

Thus in Dan. 4 : 30, it is said, that Nebuchadnezzar was driven from among men, and made to eat grass like the ox, and that *his body was MOISTENED, WET* (ἐβάφη) *with the dew of heaven.*

Dan. 5 : 21, *His body was MOISTENED* (ἐβάφη) *with the dew of heaven.* The version of this book, it will be recollected, came from the hand of Theodotion, about A. D. 150, a Jew by religion, or at least a Judaizing Christian. Commonly his version agrees with the Septuagint, and it was highly prized by Origen and the ancient Christians in general; so much so,

that Origen corrected the faults of the Septuagint by it, and the ancient churches preferred it to that of the Seventy, in respect to the book of Daniel, and received it in the Canon.

These are all the examples of  $\beta\acute{a}\pi\tau\omega$  or  $\beta\alpha\pi\tau\acute{\iota}\zeta\omega$  which can be found in the Septuagint or Apocrypha, if the Concordance of Tromm is to be trusted. From these the reader will easily see, that some of the classical meanings of these words are not to be found in the books aforesaid; while other meanings, viz., *to wash*, *to bedew* or *moisten*, are more clearly and fully exhibited. The examples in Daniel from Theodotion make it plain that the word  $\beta\acute{a}\pi\tau\omega$  was occasionally used to designate the application of liquid or moisture to the surface of any thing, in any way whatever; whether by washing, or by gentle affusion as in the case of dew. The example of Judith shews very clearly, that *washing* of the person may be designated by  $\beta\alpha\pi\tau\acute{\iota}\zeta\omega$ ; for into the fountain in the midst of the camp, it is not probable that she *plunged*. In both the examples in Daniel, the Chaldee (the original is here in this language) is  $\text{נָתַךְ}$ , which, like the Greek  $\beta\acute{a}\pi\tau\omega$ , means both *to dip* and *to tinge* or *colour*. The like is the case with the same verb in Syriac and Arabic, as well as in Chaldee; and the Hebrew appears also to have employed the same verb in the like sense, inasmuch as we have  $\text{נָתַךְ}$ , a derivative of it, signifying *coloured garment*, Judg. 5: 30.

I have taken an extensive range, in order to prepare for the investigation of the words in question in the New Testament. But we may now come to the work, under circumstances that will enable us to judge with

a greater degree of accuracy and satisfaction than we could possibly have done, if these introductory investigations had been superseded.

§ 3. *Meaning of the words  $\beta\acute{a}\pi\tau\omega$ ,  $\beta\alpha\pi\tau\acute{i}\zeta\omega$ , and their derivatives in the New Testament, when not applied to the rite of baptism.*

### I. $\beta\acute{a}\pi\tau\omega$ .

#### 1. *To dip.*

E. g., Luke 16 : 24, *That he may DIP ( $\beta\acute{a}\psi\eta$ ) the tip of his finger in water,  $\tilde{\nu}\delta\alpha\tau\sigma\varsigma$ , the Gen. of instrument, i. e., that he may wet his finger WITH water, which is a rendering that seems to accord more exactly with the syntactical construction of the sentence.*

John 13 : 26, *It is he, to whom I shall give the morsel or crumb, when I have DIPPED it ( $\beta\acute{a}\psi\alpha\varsigma$ ).*

#### 2. *To dye.*

E. g., Rev. 19 : 13, *a garment DYED ( $\beta\epsilon\beta\alpha\mu\mu\acute{e}\nu\sigma\varsigma$ ) in blood.*

These are all the examples of  $\beta\acute{a}\pi\tau\omega$ ; and by these it appears that in no case is this word applied to the rite of baptism, by the writers of the New Testament. Nor are there any words derived from this form, which occur in the New Testament.

We proceed, then, to consider the other verb.

### II. $\beta\alpha\pi\tau\acute{i}\zeta\omega$ .

I shall first examine all the examples of this word and its derivatives, in cases which have no relation to the religious rite of baptism. After this is done, we may come with more advantage to the examination of the meaning, when these words are applied to this rite.

1. *To wash*, in the literal sense.

E. g., Mark 7 : 3, 4, *The Pharisees [returning] from the market eat not, except they WASH THEMSELVES, βαπτίσωνται*, Mid. voice.

Luke 11 : 38, *But the Pharisee, seeing him, wondered that he had not first WASHED HIMSELF (έβαπτίσθη) before dinner.* Here the 1 Aor. Pass. is used in the same way as the 1 Aor. Middle would be employed ; as it is oftentimes elsewhere.

In accordance with this sense of *βαπτίζω*, we find the word *βαπτισμός* employed.

E. g., Mark 7 : 4, *THE WASHINGS (βαπτισμούς) of cups, and pots, and brazen vessels, and couches (κλινῶν)*.

Mark 7 : 8, *THE WASHINGS (βαπτισμούς) of pots and cups.*

Heb. 9 : 10, *Only in meats, and drinks, and divers WASHINGS (βαπτισμοῖς).*

These are the only examples in the New Testament where *βαπτίζω* or any of its derivates has a *literal* sense, with the exception of those cases in which these words are applied to designate the rite of baptism. Whether these are to be *literally* understood, remains still the object of our inquiry.

2. But *βαπτίζω* and *βάπτισμα* have, in a few cases, a *figurative* sense, which deserves a particular consideration. This meaning stands nearly allied to that in No. 5 under our classical head in § 1 ; or rather, it is, in amount, an idiom of the same nature. The examples are the following :

Luke 12 : 50, *I have a baptism to be baptized with (βάπτισμα δὲ ἔχω βαπτισθῆναι), and how am I straitened*

*until it be accomplished!* That is, I am about to be *overwhelmed* with sufferings, and I am greatly distressed with the prospect of them. A comparison with the similar classical usage, under No. 5 just mentioned, makes this sense very plain.

Mark 10 : 38, 39, *Are ye able to drink of the cup that I must drink, and to be baptized with the baptism with which I am baptized?* καὶ τὸ βάπτισμα, ὃ ἐγὼ βαπτίζομαι, βαπτισθῆναι; which words are found also in Matt. 20 : 22, 23, of the common editions of the New Testament, but are there marked as spurious by Knapp. The genuineness of them in Mark, however, stands uncontroverted. The sense is evidently the same as that given above, viz. “Can ye indeed take upon you to undergo, patiently and submissively, sufferings like to mine—sufferings of an overwhelming and dreadful nature?”

So the classic usage: “To overwhelm with misfortune; to overwhelm with taxes—with wine—with questions—with debt—with excessive labour,” etc. etc. In the like sense I must understand the word in 1 Cor. 15 : 29, *Else what shall they do, who are BAPTIZED for the dead?* οἱ βαπτιζόμενοι ὑπὲρ τῶν νεκρῶν; That is (for so the course of the apostle’s reasoning leads us to understand him), “If the dead are not raised—if there be, as some affirm, no resurrection to life, then what becomes of all our multiplied toils and sufferings, which we undergo with reference to a future state and to that world unto which the dead go? Of what avail is it to endure overwhelming sorrows, if there be no resurrection of the dead?”

Such a sense of the word  $\betaαπτίζω$  is so well supported and illustrated by classic usage, that nothing further needs to be said upon it. I will only add, that G. J. Vossius, in his *Disputationes de Baptismo*, Thes. I., attributes such a usage of the word to the custom of the Hebrews in designating great calamities by the image of overwhelming waters. Had he examined the classic usage of the word, he would have seen no need of this solution. To Hebrews and Greeks both, the idea of *an overwhelming flood* offered a very obvious image to designate great sorrows and afflictions. Both, therefore, employ it. Thus David: "Save me, O God, for the waters are come into my soul! I sink in deep mire, where there is no standing; I am come into deep waters, where the floods overflow me;" Ps. 69 : 1. Again, Ps. 69 : 14, "Let me be delivered . . . out of the deep waters." Ps. 18 : 16, "He sent from above, he took me, he drew me out of many waters." Ps. 32 : 6, "Surely in the floods of great waters, they shall not come nigh to him." Ps. 42 : 7, "Deep calleth unto deep, at the noise of thy water-spouts; all thy waves come over my soul." Inasmuch, now, as the more usual idea of  $\betaαπτίζω$  is that of *overwhelming, immersing*, it was very natural to employ it in designating severe calamities and sufferings.

3. There is another *figurative* use of  $\betaαπτίζω$ , allied in some respects to the preceding one, but distinguished from it in the mode of its application. I mean that usage of the word which employs it to designate the idea of *copious affusion* or *effusion*, in a figurative manner. The basis of this usage is very plainly to be

found in the designation by  $\betaαπτίζω$  of the idea of *overwhelming*, i. e., of surrounding on all sides with fluid. *Copious affusion* or *effusion* is kindred to this; and very obviously, the word which designates the preceding idea may also designate these meanings.

E. g., Matt. 3 : 11, *He shall BAPTIZE* ( $\betaαπτίσει$ ) *you with the Holy Ghost and with fire*; i. e., he will make a copious effusion of his Spirit upon a part of you; and another part, viz., the finally unbelieving and impenitent, he will surround with flames, or plunge into the flames. Or perhaps *baptizing with fire* may here have reference to the descent of the Spirit on the day of Pentecost, when there appeared to the apostles, "cloven tongues as it were of fire, and it [the fire] rested upon every one of them," Acts 2 : 3. In Luke 3 : 16, the same expression is again found; and in Mark 1 : 8, John 1 : 33, and Acts 1 : 5; 11 : 17, is found the phrase, *He shall BAPTIZE* ( $\betaαπτίσει$ ,  $\betaαπτίζων$ ) *you with the Holy Spirit*. In 1 Cor. 12 : 13, Paul says: *For by one Spirit have we been BAPTIZED* ( $\epsilon\betaαπτίσθημεν$ ) *into one body*; i. e., by the copious effusion of one and the same Spirit, have we been made members of one and the same church. So he afterwards explains it: "We all have been made to drink in one and the same Spirit."

I have now examined all the examples in the New Testament, in which  $\betaαπτίζω$  and its derivates have a literal or figurative sense, and are not applied to designate the right of baptism. We come, then, at last, after thus opening the way, to the consideration of the main question.

§ 4. *Do βαπτίζω and its derivates, when applied to designate the RITE OF BAPTISM, necessarily imply that this rite was performed by IMMERSION of the whole person?*

There are different ways in which light may be cast upon the ground of this inquiry.

I. We may contemplate the proper force and signification of the word itself, as determined by the *usus loquendi* in general.

II. We may examine the circumstances which attended the administration of this rite, and see whether they cast any light upon the *manner* of the rite itself.

III. We may investigate the early history of the rite, and see whether it already existed in the Jewish church, at the time when John the Baptist made his appearance; and if so, what was the manner of it among the Jews, and whether John or Jesus made any change in this manner.

IV. We may investigate the subsequent history of the rite, in the early ages of the Christian church, and see what mode of baptizing was practised by the churches in general.

V. When all this is done, and the *mode* is philologically and historically exhibited or established, we may then make the inquiry, whether any particular mode of applying water in baptism is essential to the ordinance, and obligatory upon the churches of Christ at the present day.

§ 5. *General usus loquendi of βαπτίζω.*

1. *What is the proper force and signification of the word, according to the general usus loquendi?*

A review of the preceding examples must lead any one, I think, to the conclusion, that the predominant usage of the words *βάπτω* and *βαπτίζω* is to designate the idea of *dipping*, *plunging*, and *overwhelming*, and (in the case of *βάπτω*) of *tinging* or *dyeing*. But we have already seen, in Nos. 6, 7 above, respecting classic usage, that *βάπτω* is employed in the sense of *bathing* the surface of any thing with a fluid, and also of *washing* it. We have also seen, in Nos. 2, 5, 6 of examples from the Septuagint and Apocrypha, that the word *βαπτίζω* sometimes means *to wash*; and *βάπτω* *to moisten*, *to wet* or *bedew*. There is, then, no absolute certainty from usage, that the word *βαπτίζω*, when applied to designate the *rite of baptism*, means of course to *immerge* or *plunge*. It may mean *washing*; possibly (but not probably) it may mean *copiously moistening* or *bedewing*; because words coming from the common root *BAII*, are applied in both these senses, as we have seen above.

But there is another point of philology yet to be examined. This relates to the mode in which the New Testament writers employ the words that designate the element with which one is baptized. This deserves a serious consideration; and, so far as I know, it has not yet been duly examined.

The Greek classic writers are accustomed, when

they designate the idea of *plunging, dipping, immersing*, etc., into any thing, to put the name of that thing in the Accusative case after  $\beta\acute{a}pt\acute{a}\omega$  and  $\beta a\pi t\acute{i}\zeta\omega$ , and to put before this case the preposition  $\epsilon i\zeta$ , or some equivalent one. The following are examples.

Lycophron, Cassand. v. 1121,  $\epsilon i\zeta \sigma\pi\lambda\gamma\chi\nu \dots \beta\acute{a}\psi\epsiloni \xi\phi\zeta$ . The scholiast on Eurip. Hec. 609, says:  $\beta\acute{a}pt\acute{e}\iota\nu$ ,  $\acute{e}st\acute{i} \tau\acute{o} \chi\lambda\tilde{\lambda}\nu \tau\acute{i} \epsilon i\zeta \tilde{\nu}\delta\omega\acute{r}\omega$ ,  $\acute{h}\acute{e} \epsilon i\zeta \acute{e}\acute{t}\acute{e}\rho\acute{r}\acute{o}\nu \tau\acute{i} \acute{u}\gamma\acute{p}\acute{o}\nu$ . Aristoph. Nub. Act. I. Sc. 2,  $\acute{e}\acute{n}\acute{e}\beta\acute{a}\psi\epsiloni \epsilon i\zeta \tau\acute{o}\nu \kappa\eta\acute{r}\acute{o}\nu$ . Aristot. De Anim. III. 12,  $\epsilon i\zeta \epsilon i\zeta \kappa\eta\acute{r}\acute{o}\nu \beta\acute{a}\psi\epsiloni \epsilon i\zeta$ . Hist. Animal. VIII. 2,  $\acute{e}\acute{a}\nu \beta\acute{a}pt\acute{a}\omega\acute{s}\iota\nu \epsilon i\zeta \psi\chi\acute{r}\acute{o}\nu$ . Ibid. VIII. 26,  $\epsilon i\zeta \mu\acute{e}\acute{l}\iota \beta\acute{a}pt\acute{o}\nu\acute{t}\acute{e}\zeta$ . De Repub. VII. 17,  $\epsilon i\zeta \pi\acute{o}\tau\acute{a}\mu\acute{d}\acute{o}\nu \acute{a}\acute{p}\acute{o}\beta\acute{a}\psi\acute{a}\nu\acute{t}\acute{e}\zeta$ . Herodot. Melpom. p. 154,  $\acute{e}\acute{p}\acute{e}\acute{u}\acute{t}\acute{a} \acute{a}\acute{p}\acute{o}\beta\acute{a}\psi\acute{a}\nu\acute{t}\acute{e}\zeta$   $\acute{e}\acute{s}$  ( $\epsilon i\zeta$ )  $\tau\acute{i}\nu \kappa\acute{u}\acute{l}\acute{i}\acute{k}\acute{a}$ . Dionys. Hal. Ant. Rom. V,  $\epsilon i\zeta \tau\acute{a}\acute{s} \pi\acute{l}\acute{e}\acute{u}\acute{r}\acute{a}\acute{s} \beta\acute{a}\psi\acute{a}\acute{s}$ . Plutarch. Parall. Graec. Rom. p. 545,  $\epsilon i\zeta \tau\acute{o} \acute{a}\acute{i}\acute{m}\acute{a} \tau\acute{i}\nu \chi\acute{e}\acute{t}\acute{r}\acute{a} \beta\acute{a}pt\acute{i}\acute{s}\acute{a}\acute{s}$ . Marcus Anton. Lib. III. § 4,  $\beta\acute{e}\beta\acute{a}\mu\acute{m}\acute{e}\acute{n}\acute{o}\nu \epsilon i\zeta \beta\acute{a}\acute{\theta}\acute{o}\zeta$ , etc., etc.

It were easy to multiply examples. But no possible doubt can arise, that such is common usage in classic Greek. But a review of the instances in which  $\beta a\pi t\acute{i}\zeta\omega$  is employed in the New Testament, presents a construction in general quite different from this. The result of such a review is, that after a particular examination of all the cases which refer either to the baptism of John or of Jesus and his disciples, I find but a single instance of the construction which is so general in the classics, whenever the element made use of in order to perform the rite of baptism is named. This is the following:

Mark 1 : 9, 'Iησοῦς . . . ἐβαπτίσθη ὑπὸ Ἰωάννου εἰς τὸν Ιορδάνην, Jesus . . . was baptized by John INTO or IN

*the Jordan*; following the usual method of the classics.

The other cases where the element is named, are of two kinds.

1. With the Dative and the preposition *ἐν*; e. g., Matt. 3 : 11, *I baptize you ἐν ὕδατι*, WITH water or BY water. Mark 1 : 8, the same; and so John 1 : 26, 31, 33.

2. With the Dative merely; e. g., Luke 3 : 16, *I baptize you ὕδατι*, WITH water or BY water; and so in Acts 1 : 5; 11 : 16; the idiom being peculiar to Luke.

The question very naturally occurs, then, Is there any special significance to be attached to these modes of expression by the writers of the New Testament? Did they intend to avoid a description of the *manner* of the rite, by forms of expression which designate merely the *means*, without marking the *manner*? What they have done, as to modes of expression, is matter of fact, and therefore certain. What signification, or whether any, is to be attached to these modes, is a question intimately connected with the object of our inquiry.

My first view of their *manner*, compared with the usual method of expression in the classics, inclined me to the supposition, that there was some special design in their employing the kind of phraseology which they have made use of. I am not confident now, that such is not the case; yet a review of the whole state of the case may, perhaps, lead to doubt, whether we ought to adopt such an opinion in respect to their usage.

1. We have one example apparently of the usual classical mode of expression, as above quoted, viz.:

Mark 1 : 9, *ἐβαπτίσθη...εἰς τὸν Ἰορδάνην*. *Eἰς* is in-

deed found before the Accusative, and this not unfrequently, where it is employed in the like sense with *ἐν* before the Dative, by the writers of the New Testament; e. g., Matt. 2 : 23, *He dwelt εἰς πόλιν Ναζαρέτ*, AT or IN the village Nazareth: John 21 : 4, *He stood εἰς τὸν αλγιαλόν*, ON the shore or BY it; Acts 8 : 40, *Philip was found εἰς Ἀζωτον*, AT Azotus. So in the Septuagint, Esth. 1 : 5, *The heathen who are found εἰς τὴν πόλιν*, AT or IN the city. In accordance with such examples of *εἰς* before a name of place, one might say that in Mark 1 : 9, *εἰς τὸν Ἰορδάνην* means, AT the river Jordan. So Bretschneider construes *ἐν τῷ Ἰορδάνῳ*, Matt. 3 : 6, in his Lexicon, under *βαπτίζω*. This is clearly a possible construction; but whether it is here the most probable one, I entertain some doubts; because the *Jordan* naturally designates the element by which the rite of baptism is performed.

That *εἰς τὸν Ἰορδάνην*, however, may designate no more in Mark 1 : 9, than the element with which or by which John performed the rite of baptism, one might argue from such an example as that in John 9 : 7, where Jesus says to the blind man, *Go wash IN the pool (νίψαι εἰς κολυμβήθραν) of Siloam*. Now we know that the word *νίπτω* (also *νίζω*) is used almost exclusively for the washing of the face, hands, or feet. So here, the blind man is directed to wash his face or his eyes at the pool, or in the pool, of Siloam. *To plunge or immerse*, is not necessarily implied by the word *νίπτω*, although in some cases it may clearly admit of this idea.

Other cases, where *εἰς* before the Accusative is employed in a like sense with *ἐν* before the Dative, spe-

cially in regard to the *place in which* any thing is or is done, the reader may find by consulting Mark 2:1. John 1:18. Mark 13:16. Luke 11:7. Acts 18:21. Mark 13:9. In like manner the classic authors not unfrequently employ *εἰς* before nouns significant of place; Winer's Gramm. Ed. 3, p. 350. And in accordance with the example in John 9:7, cited above, we may appeal to the expression of Alciphron, III. 43, *λονσαμένον εἰς τὸ βαλανεῖον*, *having washed IN the bath or AT the bath.*

With so many examples before us, of cases where *εἰς* and *ἐν* are assimilated in usage, both in heathen and in sacred writers, it must be somewhat doubtful, whether the solitary example of *εἰς* after *βαπτίζω* and before the noun designating the element, which is found in Mark 1:9, can be much relied on, in order to sh w that the New Testament usage agrees with the usual classical one. The only circumstance which weighs much in its favour, so far as the case has yet been developed, is, that the noun which here follows *βαπτίζω*, may very naturally designate the element by which the rite in question is performed; and so, the usual classical construction may more naturally be allowed. But this again is rendered so dubious by *νίψαι εἰς τὴν κολυμβήθραν* and *λονσαμένον εἰς τὸ βαλανεῖον*, that we can scarcely come with safety and confidence to a philological conclusion of such a nature.

We are obliged, then, to cast about us, and see if any further light can be thrown upon this usage of the noun (after the verb *βαπτίζω*), which signifies the element by which the rite is performed. Have the classic

writers used not only the Accusative with *εἰς*, but also the Dative with and without *ἐν*, and other equivalent constructions?

In answer to this question I will now produce several examples, which show that the classical writers have expressed themselves in different ways, when employing the words *βάπτω* and *βαπτίζω*.

Aristophanes, Eccles. *They dip the wool θερμῷ, IN warm water*; Dative without *ἐν*. Aristotle, Hist. Anim. VIII. 29, *And dipping it IN wine (ἐν οἴνῳ), they drink it*; Dative with *ἐν*. Heraclides Ponticus, Allegor. p. 495, *ὑδατὶ βαπτίζεται*. Aratus, Phaenom. v. 650, *βάπτων ὡκεανοῖο, baptizing WITH the ocean*; Genitive without a preposition, used in the same sense as the Dative with *ἐν*. Ibid. 858, *βάπτοι ρόον ἐσπερίοιο bathes himself WITH the western flood*, i. e., the sea; Genitive of instrument. Again, v. 951, *Bathes herself ποταμοῖο, WITH the river*; Genitive of instrument. Strabo, XVI. p. 1117, *Dipped διστοῖς, in the gall of serpents*; Dative without preposition. Plutarch, De Educ. Puer. p. 15, *τοῖς ὑπερβάλλονσι βαπτίζεται, are overwhelmed WITH excessive labours*; Dative of cause. Marcus Antoninus, V. § 16, *βάπτεται ὑπὸ τῶν φαντασιῶν*, Genitive of instrument, with a preposition. Plutarch, Moral. Tom. III. p. 1504, *δόφλήμασι βεβαπτισμένον, overwhelmed WITH debts*; Dative of cause, without a preposition.

It follows, then, from these examples, to which many more might easily be added if necessary, that the verbs *βάπτω* and *βαπτίζω* admit after them several various methods of construing the noun, which designates the element made use of in the action indicated by the

verb. (1) The Accusative case with *εἰς* before it; which is the usual construction. (2) The Dative with *ἐν*. (3) The Dative without *ἐν*. (4) The Genitive with *ὑπό*, etc. (5) The Genitive without a preposition. And probably it is another variety still, which Sophocles exhibits in his Ajax, v. 96, where he says: *Thou hast well BATHED (ἔβαψας) thy sword πρὸς Ἀργείων στράτῳ, WITH the army of the Greeks.*

From such examples, which, indeed, are somewhat numerous, we may come very fairly to the conclusion, that when a Greek employed the word *βάπτω* or *βαπτίζω*, he did not feel constrained to use the Accusative case after it with the preposition *εἰς*. He might express himself in various other ways, and still conform to the *usus loquendi*.

But are all these modes of speaking, now exhibited, equivalent to each other? I think not. There is a difference which may be made quite manifest, between saying *βαψενε ποταμό εἰς τὸν*, and *ἔβαψεν ἐν τῷ ποταμῷ*, or *βάπτων τῷ ποταμῷ*, *βάπτων ποταμοῦ*, *ἔβάψη ὑπὸ τοῦ ποταμοῦ*, etc. In the first case, I understand the writer or speaker as meaning to designate the *manner* of the baptism; *he plunged into the river* means, that he *immersed* or *submerged himself*, i. e., that he went down or sunk beneath the surface of the water. In all the other cases, the *manner* of the action is no further designated, than the words *βάπτω* or *βαπτίζω* imply it; but the *means, cause or instrument* of baptism is designated, viz., the river, or the waters of the river. *\*Ἐβάπτισε εἰς τὸν ποταμόν* cannot usually mean less than that the individual of whom this is affirmed, did

actually dive into the water, or was in some way submerged in it; whereas all the other methods of construction do not of necessity imply any more, than that the individual concerned *bathed himself* or *washed himself*, with the element named. This may have been by plunging into it, or in any other way; but the expression, when the Genitive or Dative is used after the verb, either with or without a preposition, does not designate the *manner* of the baptism, but only the kind of element by which this baptism was effected. This results from the nature of the Genitive and Dative cases, and the prepositions with which they are connected, in all the constructions now in question. To this I make the appeal; and those who know enough of the laws of syntax and idiom in Greek to be qualified to judge, will be able to determine for themselves whether the distinction now made is well founded.

Believing that it is so, I may now bring to the test the cases of  $\beta\alpha\pi\tau\iota\zeta\omega$  in the New Testament, after which verb the element is designated. As we have already seen, all these are either in the Dative with or without  $\epsilon\nu$ , one only excepted, which seems to be construed after the usual analogy. Setting aside this, then, for a moment, we may say, in all other cases in the New Testament, the *mode* of baptism is left undetermined by the original Greek, so far as the language itself is concerned, unless it is necessarily implied by the word  $\beta\alpha\pi\tau\iota\zeta\omega$ ; for in all other cases, only the *element by which*, not the *mode in which* baptism is performed, is designated by the sacred writers. (See Appendix A, Note 1.)

I take this to be sufficiently plain and certain, to the

well-instructed philologist; and I apprehend it may now appear plain to others, from the evidence placed before them. Is there, then, in the word  $\betaαπτίζω$  itself, a meaning sufficiently definite and exclusive to imply, of necessity, that the rite of baptism was performed only by *plunging*? And does the solitary example in Mark 1: 9, add confirmation to the supposition of such a meaning?

It will be remembered, that I am now making the inquiry, how much we may justly conclude *ex vi termini*, i. e., merely from the force of the words concerned, independently of any historical facts that may stand connected with them, and be explanatory of them. For in this case, as in all others, more or less of modification may be admitted in respect to the sense of particular words, as the circumstances, i. e., the facts connected with the case, may require.

The answer to the above questions which I feel philosophically compelled to give, is, that the probability that  $\betaαπτίζω$  implies *immersion*, is very considerable, and on the whole a predominant one; but it does not still amount to certainty. Both the classic use and that of the Septuagint show, that *washing* and *copious affusion* are sometimes signified by this word. Consequently, the rite of baptism may have been performed in one of these ways, although it is designated by the word  $\betaαπτίζω$ . Whether in fact it was so, then, seems to be left for inquiry, from other evidence than that which the word itself necessarily affords.

In respect to Mark 1: 9,  $\varepsilon\betaαπτίσθη \dots εἰς τὸν Ἰορδάνην$ , after what has been said above, and in considera-

tion that this is the only instance of the kind in the New Testament, it cannot be deemed, as it appears to me, quite safe to build with confidence upon it. The expressions, *νίψαι εἰς κολυμβήθραν*, in John 9: 7, and *λονθαμένον εἰς τὸ βαλανεῖον* (*washed in a bath*) in Alciphron III. 43, show that the Greek verbs which designate the *washing* of the hands, face, or feet, and also of the body, may and do take the same construction, viz., the Accusative with *εἰς* after them. In either of these two last cases, *plunging* is not essential to the idea conveyed by the verb, although it is admissible.

On the whole, however, the probability seems to be in favour of the idea of *immersion*, when we argue simply *ex vi termini*, i. e., merely from the force of the words or expressions in themselves considered.

I know not that I can cast any further light on this part of my subject, by pursuing simply philological investigation. However, as this seems to leave us somewhat in a state of uncertainty still, we must have recourse to the other means of inquiry suggested above.

### § 6. *Circumstances attending Baptism.*

II. *Do the circumstances which attend the administration of the rite of baptism, as related in the New Testament, cast any light upon the MANNER of the rite itself?*

#### 1. *The Baptism of John.*

(a) John is called *βαπτίστης* in the following passages; viz., Matt. 3: 1; 11: 11, 12; 14: 2, 8; 16: 14; 17: 13; Mark 6: 24, 25; 8: 28; Luke 7: 20, 28, 33; 9: 19. But as this appellation determines

merely his *office*, and not the manner in which he performed the rite of baptism, it would serve no purpose to pursue an investigation relative to this word; which of course must take its hue from  $\betaαπτιζω$ .

(b) I have already remarked, that Bretschneider considers Matt. 3: 6, *All Jerusalem, etc., . . . were baptized*  $\dot{\epsilon}ν\tau\tilde{\omega}\,\text{Ιορδάνη}$ , *in the Jordan*, as designating the *place where* they were baptized. This he seems to justify by an appeal to Mark 1: 4, *John was baptizing*  $\dot{\epsilon}ν\tau\tilde{\omega}\,\dot{\epsilon}ρήμω$ , *in the desert*. But the difference between the two cases is, that the river Jordan may naturally signify the element *with* which the rite was performed.

I find nothing else in the accounts of the several Evangelists, or in the Acts of the Apostles, respecting the baptism of John, which has not already been discussed under our first inquiry in § 5, excepting the phraseology in Matt. 3: 16, and in Mark 1: 10. It is here related, that Jesus, being baptized by John,  $\dot{\alpha}ν\epsilon\betaη$  ( $\dot{\alpha}ν\alpha\beta\alpha\iota\pi\omega\pi$ )  $\dot{\alpha}\pi\dot{\omega}\,\tau\dot{\omega}\,\dot{\nu}\delta\alpha\tau\omega\zeta$ , *went up from the water*, viz., from the river Jordan. The question has been raised, whether this means “went up out of the water of the river,” i. e., rose up after being plunged into the river, and came out of the water. It becomes necessary therefore to investigate this question.

Several considerations may serve to determine it. (1) The rite of baptism was completed, before John went up from the water. So says Matthew,  $\betaαπτισθεὶς\,\dot{\alpha}\,\text{Ιησοῦς}$ ; and Mark also says, that *Jesus was baptized by John in the Jordan*, and then *went up from the water*. Both Evangelists say, that the action of *going up* took place *immediately or straightway* ( $\epsilon\dot{\nu}\dot{\theta}\nu\zeta$ ,  $\epsilon\dot{\nu}\dot{\theta}\epsilon\omega\zeta$ ) after

the baptism. Now if the rite of baptism was completed before John *emerged* from the water (in case he was immersed), i. e., if it was completed merely by the act of plunging him under the water, then indeed *ἀναβαῖνων* might possibly be supposed to apply to his *emerging* from the water. But who will venture to introduce such a conceit as this? (2) Yet if any one should wish to do so, the verb *ἀναβαῖνω* will hardly permit such an interpretation. This verb means *to ascend, mount, go up*, viz., a ship, a hill, an eminence, a chariot, a tree, a horse, a rostrum, *to go up* to the capital of a country, to heaven, etc., and as applied to trees and vegetables, *to spring up, shoot up, grow up*. But as to *emerging from the water*, I can find no such meaning attached to it. The Greeks have a proper word for this, and one continually employed by the ecclesiastical fathers, in order to designate emerging from the water; and this is *ἀναστῆναι*, which means *to come up out of* the water, the ground, etc., or to *emerge from* below the horizon, as do the sun, stars, etc. But this verb is never commuted, to my knowledge, with *ἀναβαῖνω*. The usage of each seems to be perfectly distinct; yet I do not deny the possibility of employing *ἀναβαῖνω* in the sense of emerging. I know the want of accuracy in some writers too well to hazard the assertion, that no example of such usage can be found. But if there are such examples they must be very rare. The New Testament surely does not afford them. (3) The preposition *ἀπό* will not allow such a construction. I have found no example where it is applied to indicate a movement *out of* a liquid into the air. 'Εκ

would of course be the proper word to indicate such a relation as this. Ἀπό denotes either the relation of origin, as sprung from, descended from, etc., or removal in regard to distance, or the relation of cause to effect, the instrument, etc. To designate *emerging from* any thing that is liquid, I have not found it ever applied. (See Appendix, Note 2.)

These concurrent reasons, both of circumstances and *usus loquendi*, make it a clear case, that Jesus retired from the water of the river, by going up its banks. Nothing more can properly be deduced from it.

As there appears to be nothing more of a circumstantial nature, in all the examples cited above where the baptism of John is mentioned, which can cast any light upon the point in question (excepting one case that stands connected with the mention of Christian baptism), I proceed to make inquiry respecting this latter subject.

## 2. Christian Baptism, as practised by the primitive disciples of Jesus.

This is mentioned or alluded to, in Matt. 3:14; 28:19; Mark 16:11; John 3:22; 4:1, 2; Acts 2:28, 41; 8:12, 13, 16, 36, 38; 9:18; 10:47, 48; 16:15, 33:18:8; 19:3, 5; 22:16; Rom. 6:3 bis.; 1 Cor. 1:14, 15, 16, 17; 12:13; Gal. 3:27. The example in Acts 19:3 may be doubtful. The passages in Eph. 5:26; Tit. 3:5, and Heb. 10:22, also refer to Christian baptism.

The examples in Matthew and Mark afford nothing pertinent to our present object. But in John 3:22-24, a narration just alluded to above, occurs in connection with mentioning that Jesus abode in Judea and

*baptized* there, which deserves our special attention. The writer, after narrating what has just been stated, goes on to say: *Now John was baptizing in (or at) Enon, near Salim, ὅτι ὕδατα πολλὰ ἦν ἐκεῖ, for there was MUCH WATER there, or (more literally), there were MANY WATERS there.* The question is, Whether John baptized at Enon near Salim, because the waters were there abundant and deep, so as to afford convenient means of immersion; or whether the writer means merely to say, that John made choice of Enon, because there was an abundant supply of water there for the accommodation of those who visited him, for the sake of being baptized and of hearing the powerful addresses which he made to the Jews. The former statement makes the *much water* or *many waters* necessary, or at least convenient and desirable, for the purposes of the baptismal rite; the latter for supplying the wants of the multitudes who attended to the preaching of John.

It has always seemed to me a very singular mode of expression, if the sacred writer meant to designate the former idea, to say *ὅτι ὕδατα πολλὰ ἦν ἐκεῖ*. Why not say, because the water was *deep*, or *abundant*, simply? A single brook, of very small capacity, but still a living stream, might, with scooping out a small place in the sand, answer most abundantly all the purposes of baptism, in case it were performed by immersion; and answer them just as well as *many waters* could do. But on the other hand, a single brook would not suffice for the accommodation of the great multitudes who flocked to John. The sacred writer tells us, that “there went out to him, Jerusalem, and

all Judea, and all the neighbouring region of Jordan" (Matt. 3:5,) and that they were baptized by him. Of course there must have been a great multitude of people. Nothing could be more natural than for John to choose a place that was watered by many streams, where all could be accommodated.

The circumstances of the case, then, would seem to favour that interpretation which refers the mention of *many waters* to the wants of the people who flocked to hear John.

But let us see, now, what the idiom of the language demands. The following passages serve to illustrate this idiom.

In Matt. 3:16; Mark 1:10, *νόδατος* (*water*) designates the river Jordan; as we might very naturally suppose. In Acts 8:36-39, it is left uncertain by the text, whether a stream or fountain of water is there meant; for *νόδωρ* may designate either. In Rev. 8:11, *τρίτον τῶν ὑδάτων*, *a third part of the waters*, refers both to the rivers and fountains of water that had just been mentioned; and so *ἐκ τῶν ὑδάτων* again in the same verse. In Rev. 17:1, the angel says to John: "I will show thee the punishment of the great harlot, who sitteth on *many waters*," i. e., many streams or rivers of water, not merely a large quantity of water. In 17:15 the same phrase and idea is repeated. In Rev. 22:1, we find the expression *ποταμὸν ὑδατος ζωῆς*, *river of the water of life*, which in Rev. 22:17 is referred to and called *νόδωρ ζωῆς*, *water of life*. In Rev. 1:15; 14:2; 19:6, we have the expression *φωνὴ ὑδάτων πολλῶν*, *the voice of many waters*; which, in two of the

passages, is followed by the expression, *as the voice of thunder*, i. e., a noise exceedingly loud. Now it is the waves of the sea, probably, to which the writer here alludes; for there were no cataracts in Palestine that would have supplied him with an apposite idea. But these waves of the sea are successive, and (so to speak) different and broken masses of water; not one continuous mass, deep and abundant. The simple idea of depth and abundance would not give birth to the conception of *roaring* waters. It is the movement, the division, the succession, and the motion, which form the ground of this idea.

Of the Evangelists, only Matthew and Mark use *ѡδωρ* in the *plural*. Matthew employs it four times; viz., 14:28, 29; 8:32; 17:15. In the three former instances it designates the *waters* (as we say) in the lake or sea of Tiberias; in the latter it probably means different or various streams or fountains of water. In this last sense, Mark employs it, in the only example in which the plural is used in his Gospel; viz., in 9:22. No other example of the plural occurs until we come to the Apocalypse. Here, as we have seen, the waters or waves of the ocean are designated by the plural in 1:15; 14:2; 19:6. In Rev. 7:17; 8:10, 11 bis.; 11:6; 14:7; 16:4, 5; 17:1, 15, *fountains and streams* (plural) of water are designated by *ѡδατα*.

No example then can be brought in the New Testament of the application of *ѡδατα* to designate merely *quantity* of water, simply considered as *deep* and *abounding*. It is either the vast waters of a sea or lake, as agitated by the winds and broken into waves,

or the multiplied waters of numerous springs and fountains, which are here designated by the *plural* of the word in question.

That *νερόν* is sometimes employed to designate a *stream* or *river*, is clear, moreover, from the Septuagint use of the word.

E. g., Ex. 7:15, “Behold he (Pharaoh) will go out ἐπὶ τὸ νερόν, *to the water*, i. e., the river, for so the next clause explains it; *and thou shalt meet him on the brink τοῦ ποταμοῦ, of the river*. In Ex. 8:20, the same phrase, in the same sense, is again repeated. So in Lev. 14:5, 6, 50-52, mention is made of a bird to be killed ἐφ' νεατῇ ζῶντι, *over living water*, i. e., over a running stream or brook; although the meaning of living water may be, that of a *spring* or *fountain*, which continually sends forth fresh water; as it is in Gen. 26:19; Jer. 2:13. The first, however, is what I should deem to be the most probable sense here. Num. 24:6, *As cedars παρ' νεατα, by the waters*, i. e., rivers, or water-courses, which is here the most probable idea; comp. Ps. 1:3, “He shall be as a tree planted עַל-צָבֵד-מִזְרָבָם *by the water-courses*.” 2 Chron. 32:30, *And he [Hezekiah] stopped up the issue τοῦ νεατος Γειῶν, of the WATER-COURSE or SLUICE Gihon.* Is. 18:2, *Who sendest . . . epistles of papyrus over the water, ἐπάνω τοῦ νεατος*, i. e., upon the face or surface of the river Nile.

Indeed, there can be no doubt of such a usage of the word *νερόν*, whenever occasion calls for it. The simple question then is, whether the occasion does call for it, in John 3:22-24.

Grotius, and after him Kuinoel, thinks that *νεατα*

*πολλά* designates such a *copiousness of water*, as was sufficient for the purposes of immersion. Beza, on the other hand, one of the most acute judges of Greek idiom, says that “by the appellation *ῥάτα* is meant *many rivulets* (multi rivi);” and he appeals to *ῥάτος* in Matt. 3 : 16, in confirmation of this. He might have carried the appeal much farther if he had been at the pains of consulting his Concordance. Even in Homer, Od. XIII. 109, *ῥάτα* occurs as designating great or flowing streams.

I do not deny that in the Suptuagint, for example, *ῥωρ* and *ῥάτα* are sometimes promiscuously used without any perceptible difference of meaning. In most cases, however, this is not the fact; but the plural *ῥάτα* is used to designate *great bodies of water* or *numerous bodies or streams* of it; e. g., in Gen. 1 : 10, 20, 21, 22; Ex. 2 : 19; 8 : 6; 15 : 27; 20 : 4; and often so elsewhere. The promiscuous use in some cases of *ῥωρ* and *ῥάτα* in the version of the Seventy, seems to be the result of imitating the Hebrew; for the Hebrew has only a plural form (**מים**) to designate the element of water.

Why should the epithet *πολλά* be added to *ῥάτα*, in John 3 : 22-24, if merely deep water, or a quantity of water sufficient for immersing, was intended? The natural and primary meaning of *πόλνς* is *many* in opposition to *few*. It has merely a secondary meaning, especially so when in the *plural* number, if at any time it designates largeness of quantity, intensity of degree, etc.

On the whole, I cannot divest myself of the impres-

sion, that there seems to be something extravagant in the supposition, that not only the plural *νδατα*, which naturally designates a large quantity or many streams of water, but also *πολλά* should be employed, in order to designate a quantity of water sufficient for baptizing by immersion, when any small rivulet would furnish abundant means for such a purpose. I cannot avoid the belief, therefore, that *νδατα πολλά* is designed, as Beza says, to designate *many streams* or *rivulets*. John chose a place abounding in these, when he removed from the banks of the Jordan, in order that the multitudes who flocked to him might be accommodated.

The passage which my present purpose leads me next to examine, is in Acts 8 : 36-39. Philip expounded to the Ethiopian eunuch the Scriptures respecting the Messiah, and he was moved to believe in that Saviour who was preached to him. As Philip and his new disciple journeyed on together, they came, says the sacred writer, *ἐπὶ τὶνι ὕδωρ* to a certain water. What kind of water? A rivulet, river, spring, pool, or what? If the answer be, *a brook* or *river*, then the sense put upon *νδατα πολλά* in the paragraph above is, of course, conceded; i. e., it is conceded that such a sense may be given to *νδατα*, as has here been assigned to it. If the answer be, *to a spring, fountain, or pool of water*, then again it is conceded that *ὕδωρ* designates something besides the mere *element* of water. The use of *τὶ* here, of necessity implies that *ὕδωρ* must be either a stream, or a fountain, or a pool of water.

I acknowledge myself unable to determine, with any good degree of certainty, which of these is meant. Yet

I think the probability to be that it was a *fountain* of water. I draw this conclusion rather from the geography of the country than from the mere principles of philology. There is, indeed, a river with branches between Jerusalem and Gaza; yet it runs not through the desert, but through the inhabited country; for rivers in the East make habitable places. There is another river *south* of Gaza. But the place where Philip met the eunuch was the *desert* between Jerusalem and this place, Acts 8:27. I must, therefore, think the  $\tau\bar{\iota}\ \tilde{\nu}\delta\omega\rho$  in Acts 8:36, to be a *spring* or *pool of water*.

Such a collection of water is usually, of course, in some valley or ravine. Hence it is said in v. 38, *They went down εἰς τὸ ὕδωρ*, *TO the water*, as some would render it, or *INTO the water*; as others insist it should be translated. Does  $\epsilon i \varsigma$  in this case admit of either sense? And which is to be preferred?

That  $\epsilon i \varsigma$  with the verb  $\kappa\alpha\tau\alpha\beta\alpha\iota\pi\omega$  (which is used in Acts 8:38) often means *going down to a place*, is quite certain; e. g., John 2:12, *Jesus went down to* ( $\epsilon i \varsigma$ ) *Capernaum*; Acts 7:15, *Jacob went down to* ( $\epsilon i \varsigma$ ) *Egypt*; Acts 14:25, *They went down to* ( $\epsilon i \varsigma$ ) *Attalia*; Acts 16:8, *They went down to* ( $\epsilon i \varsigma$ ) *Troas*; Acts 18:22, *He went down to* ( $\epsilon i \varsigma$ ) *Antioch*; Acts 25:6, *Going down to* ( $\epsilon i \varsigma$ ) *Cesarea*; comp. Luke 10:30; 18:14; Acts 8:26, et al. So common, indeed, is the meaning of  $\epsilon i \varsigma$ , when it designates direction *to* a place or *towards* it, that Bretschneider has given this as its first and leading signification. But I have confined my examples to its connexion with  $\kappa\alpha\tau\alpha\beta\alpha\iota\pi\omega$ .

On the other hand, I find but one passage in the

New Testament where it seems to mean *into* when used with the verb *καταβαίνω*. This is in Rom. 10 : 7, *Who shall go down εἰς ἀβύσσον, into the abyss.* Even here the sense *to* is good. And, in fact, when one analyzes the idea of *καταβαίνων*, *going down, descending*, he finds that it indicates the action performed *before* reaching a place, the approximation *to* it by descent, real or supposed, and not the entering *into* it. *Ἐισέρχομαι* is the appropriate word for *entering into*; or rather (in distinction from *καταβαίνω*) *ἐμβαίνω* is the appropriate word to signify *entrance into* any place or thing. Hence I must conclude, on the whole, that although in several of the above cases of *καταβαίνω* with *εἰς*, we may translate *εἰς* by *into* and still make good sense in English, yet the real and appropriate signification of this phraseology in the New Testament seems plainly to be, *going down to a place*. *Καταβαίνω* designates the action performed in order to arrive there by descending, in any sense; and not the action of entering into the place to which one has gone down, although this may sometimes be included by popular diction.

I must come, then, to the conclusion, that *κατέβησαν ἀμφότεροι εἰς τὸ ὕδωρ*, in Acts 8 : 38, does neither necessarily nor probably mean, *they descended into the water*. This conclusion is rendered nearly certain by the exact counterpart or antithesis of this expression, which is found in v. 39, where, after the baptism, it is said, *ἀνέβησαν ἐκ τοῦ ὕδατος, they went up from the water*. We have seen (p. 320) that *ἀναβαίνω* is never employed in the sense of *emerging from* a liquid substance. The preposition *ἐκ*, here, would agree well with this

idea, although it by no means of necessity implies it; but *ἀναβαίνω* forbids us thus to construe it. As, then, *to go up FROM the water* is to ascend the bank of a stream, pool, or fountain, so *to go down TO the water* is to go down the bank of such stream, fountain, or pool, and to come to the water. Whether the person, thus *going down εἰς τὸ ὕδωρ*, enters *into* it or not, must be designated in some other way than by this expression, which of itself leaves the matter in uncertainty.

I have another remark to make on *κατέβησαν ἀμφότεροι εἰς τὸ ὕδωρ*, *they BOTH went down to the water*. This is, that if *κατέβησαν εἰς τὸ ὕδωρ* is meant to designate the action of *plunging* or *being immersed into the water*, as a part of the rite of baptism, then was Philip baptized as well as the eunuch; for the sacred writer says that *BOTH went into the water*. Here, then, must have been a re-baptism of Philip: and what is at least singular, he must have baptized *himself* as well as the eunuch.

All these considerations together show, that the *going down to the water*, and the *going up from the water*, constituted no part of the rite of baptism itself; for Philip did the one and the other just as truly as the eunuch. As, then, neither the language allows us to construe the passage as signifying *immersion* and *emersion*, nor the circumstances permit us to interpret the passage thus, we have no good and sufficient grounds here to consider this example as making any determination with respect to the mode of the baptismal rite.

I come next to the examination of those passages which have so often been adduced and relied upon, in the controversy respecting the original mode of bap-

tism, and which are contained in Rom. 6 : 3, 4, "Know ye not, that so many of us as were baptized into Christ Jesus, were baptized into his death? We, then, have been buried with him by baptism into his death; so that as Christ was raised from the dead by the glory of the Father, in like manner we also should walk in newness of like;" also Col. 2 : 12, "Being buried with him by baptism; with whom also ye have been raised up (or have arisen) by faith, through the power of God, who raised him from the dead."

I might refer the reader to what I have written upon these verses in my Commentary on the Epistle to the Romans. But as the present disquisition may come into the hands of some who do not possess that work, I deem it proper to transfer to this place what I have there said, and also to make some additions to the remarks thus transferred. The Commentary is as follows:

Verse 3. Ἐβαπτίσθημεν εἰς τὸν Χριστόν Ἰησοῦν. The sense of this depends on the meaning of the formula *βαπτίζειν εἰς τίνα*—or *βαπτίζειν εἰς τὸ ὄνομα τινός*. (a) In regard to *βαπτίζειν εἰς τὸ ὄνομα*, the noun *ὄνομα* is, no doubt, to be regarded as *expletive*, as בָּשָׂר in Hebrew often is. So in the Jewish formula of baptizing proselytes. If the proselyte was a servant, the master, at his baptism, made a declaration whether he intended to make the servant free as a proselyte, or to have him still remain a servant. This declaration was made thus : חֲרִין בְּנֵי טָבֵל בְּשָׂר, *he is baptized into the name of freemen*; or עֲבָד בְּנֵי טָבֵל בְּשָׂר, *he is baptized into the name of a servant*. So Matt. 28 : 19, *Baptized εἰς τὸ ὄνομα*

*τοῦ πατρὸς, καὶ τοῦ νεοῦ, καὶ τοῦ πνεύματος ἀγίου*, which is the same as *baptized εἰς τὸν πατέρα, καὶ τὸν νεόν, καὶ τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἄνιον*. Accordingly, we find *ὄνομα* omitted in our text, as also in 1 Cor. 10 : 2; Gal. 3 : 27; it is used in Acts 8 : 16; 19 : 5; 1 Cor. 1 : 13, 15.

(b) The sense of the *whole formula* is more difficult to be ascertained. Most commentators, after Vitringa (Obs. Sac. III. 22), explain *εἰς* as meaning *INTO the acknowledgment of*, with an implication of affiance, subjection, discipleship, etc. But the formula in 1 Cor. 12 : 13, *πάντες εἰς ἐν σῶμα ἐβαπτίσθημεν*, seems not to accord with such an explanation. Here *εἰς* plainly means *participation*; i. e., by baptism we come to belong *to one body*, to participate in one body, to be members of one body. In like manner, we may say, by baptism we come to belong (in a special and peculiar sense, no doubt), to Father, Son, and Holy Ghost; to Moses, 1 Cor. 10 : 2; to Paul, 1 Cor. 1 : 13. In this way all the passages may be construed alike, and the sense in all will be good. The idea is, for substance, that “by baptism we become consecrated to any person or thing, appropriated (as it were) to any person or thing, so as to belong to him or to it, in a manner peculiar, and involving a special relation, and consequent special duties and obligations.”

This sense is such an one as fits the passage under examination. Thus interpreted it would mean: “As many of us as have become devoted to Christ by baptism; as many as have been consecrated to Christ by baptism; or been laid under peculiar obligations, or

taken upon them a peculiar relation to him, by being baptized."

*Εἰς τὸν θάνατον αὐτοῦ ἐβαπτίσθημεν, we have been baptized into his death*; i. e., we have, as it were, been made partakers of his death by baptism; we have come under a special relation to his death; we have engaged to die unto sin, as he died for it; we have a communion or participation in death to sin; comp. Rom. 6: 6; Gal. 2: 19. *The being baptized into his death* is, therefore, an internal, moral, spiritual thing, of which the external rite of baptism is only a symbol; for the relation symbolized by baptism is in its own nature *spiritual* and *moral*. *The participation in the death of Christ*, of which Paul here speaks, is surely something more than what is external—it is of a *moral* or *spiritual* nature, of which the external rite is merely a symbol.

Verse 4. *Συνετάφημεν οὖν κ. τ. λ., we have been buried with him, then, by baptism into his death*; i. e., we are (by being baptized into his death) buried as he was, *συνετάφημεν* where *σύν* means *like, in like manner with*; comp. v. 6: also Rom. 8: 17; Col. 3: 1, where any other sense of *σύν* is out of question; 2 Tim. 7: 11, to which the same remark will apply.

Most commentators have maintained that *συνετάφημεν* has here a necessary reference to the mode of *literal* baptism, which, they say, was by *immersion*; and this, they think, affords ground for the employment of the image used by the apostle, because *immersion* (under water) may be compared to *burial* (under the earth).

It is difficult, perhaps, to procure a patient rehearing for this subject, so long regarded by some as being out of fair dispute. Nevertheless, as my own conviction is not, after protracted and repeated examinations, accordant here with that of commentators in general, I feel constrained briefly to state my reasons.

(a) The first is, that in the verse before us there is a plain *antithesis*—one so plain that it is impossible to overlook it. If, now, *συνετάφημεν* is to be interpreted in a *physical* way, i. e., as meaning baptism in a physical sense, where is the corresponding *physical* idea in the opposite part of the antithesis or comparison? Plainly there is no such *physical* idea or reference in the other part of the antithesis. The *resurrection* there spoken of is entirely a *moral, spiritual* one; for it is one which Christians have already experienced during the present life, as may be fully seen by comparing vs. 5, 11, below. I take it for granted, that after *ήμεῖς* in v. 4, *ἐγερθέντες* is implied; since the nature of the comparison, the preceding *ώς ἡγέρθη Χριστός*, and v. 5, make this entirely plain.

If we turn now to the passage in Col. 2 : 12 (which is altogether parallel with the verse under examination, and has very often been agitated by polemic writers on the subject of baptism), we shall there find more conclusive reason still to argue as above respecting the nature of the *antithesis* presented. “We have been buried with [Christ] by *baptism*.” What, now, is the *opposite* of this? What is the kind of *resurrection* from this grave in which Christians have been buried? The apostle tells us: “We have risen with

him [Christ] by faith wrought by the power of God ( $\tauῆς ἐνεργείας τοῦ θεοῦ$ ), who raised him [Christ] from the dead." Here there is a *resurrection by faith*; i. e., a *spiritual, moral* one. Why, then, should we look for a *physical* meaning in the antithesis? If one part of the antithesis is to be construed in a manner entirely *moral* or *spiritual*, why should we not construe the other in the like manner? To understand  $\sigmaυνετάφημεν$ , then, of a *literal burial under water*, is to understand it in a manner which the laws of interpretation appear to forbid.

(b) Nothing can be plainer, than that the word  $\sigmaυνετάφημεν$ , in Rom. 6:4, is equivalent in sense to the word  $\deltaπεθάνομεν$  in v. 8. It seems to be adopted merely for the sake of rendering more striking the image of a *resurrection*, which the apostle employs in the other part of the antithesis. *A resurrection from the grave* is a natural phrase, when one is speaking with respect to the subject of a *resurrection*; see John 5:28, 29; comp. Dan. 12:2. In accordance with this statement, the context does most plainly speak, both in respect to Rom. 6:4, and Col. 2:12. For in respect to Rom. 6:4, the apostle goes on in the very next verse (as is usual with him) to present the same idea which is contained in v. 4, in a different costume. Verse 5 (which is a mere epexegetis of v. 4) says: *If we have been homogeneous* ( $\sigmaύμφυτοι$ , like, of the same kind) *with Christ in his DEATH, then shall we be in his resurrection.* The same idea and explanation is repeated in v. 8 —  $\deltaπεθάνομεν$  —  $\sigmaυζήσομεν$ , and the whole is summarily explained in v. 11, *So reckon*

*ye yourselves to be νεκροὺς μὲν τῇ ἀμαρτίᾳ ζῶντας δὲ τῷ θεῷ.*

Exactly in the same manner has the apostle gone on to explain *συνταφέντες* in Col. 2:12. In v. 13 he adds: “*You νεκρούς in your offences . . . συνεζωποίησε, has he [God] made alive with him [Christ], having forgiven us all our offences.*”

There can be no real ground for question, then, that by *συνετάφημεν*, in both cases, is meant neither more nor less than by *ἀποθάνομεν*, *νεκροί*, etc. The exegesis added in both cases seems to make this quite plain.

The only reason, then, which I can find why *συνετάφημεν* is preferred in Rom. 6:4, and in Col. 2:12, is, as has been suggested above, that the language may be a fuller antithesis of the word *resurrection*, which is employed in the corresponding part of the comparison. “*You who were [dead] buried with Christ,*” gives energy to the expression.

(c) But my principal difficulty in respect to the usual exegesis of *συνετάφημεν* is, that the image or figure of *immersion, baptism*, is, so far as I know, nowhere else in Scripture employed as a symbol of *burial in the grave*. Nor can I think that it is a very natural symbol of burial. The obvious import of *washing with water*, or immersing in water, is, that it is symbolical of purity, cleansing, purification. But how will this aptly signify *burying in the grave*, the place of corruption, loathsomeness, and destruction?

For these reasons, I feel inclined to doubt the usual exegesis of the passage before us, and to believe that

the apostle had in view only a burying which is *moral* and *spiritual*, for the same reasons that he had a *moral* and *spiritual* (not a physical) resurrection in view, in the corresponding part of the antithesis.

Indeed, what else but a *moral* *burying* can be meant when the apostle goes on to say: *We are buried with him* [not by baptism only, but] *by baptism* **INTO HIS DEATH**? Of course it will not be contended that a literal *physical* *burying* is here meant, but only a *moral* one. And although the words *into his death* are not inserted in Col. 2 : 12, yet, as the following verse there shows, they are plainly implied. In fact it is plain that reference is here made to *baptism*, because, when the rite was performed, the Christian promised to renounce sin, and to mortify all his evil desires, and thus to die unto sin that he might live unto God. I cannot see, therefore, that there is any more necessary reference here to the *modus* of baptism, than there is to the *modus* of the resurrection. The one may as well be maintained as the other.

I am aware, however, that one may say: “I admit that the burial with Christ has a *moral* sense, and only such an one; but then the language in which this idea is conveyed (*συνετάφημεν*) is evidently borrowed from the custom of immersion.” In reply to this, I would refer to the consideration under (c) above. The possibility of this usage I admit; but to show that the image is natural and obvious, and that it is a part of Scripture usage elsewhere, is what seems important, in order to produce entire satisfaction to the mind of a philological inquirer. At any rate, I cannot at present

think the case to be clear enough to entitle any one to employ this passage, with confidence, in a contest respecting the mode of baptism.

In now reviewing the whole of these remarks, I am not able to perceive that they are, for substance, incorrect. The more I reflect on the subject, the more I am persuaded that the essential part of the idea which is conveyed by *συνετάφημεν* consists in this, viz., that when the Christian is *baptized into the death of Christ*, Rom. 6 : 4, he is considered as “putting off the old man with his lusts,” as “crucifying him,” as renouncing the world and his former sinful course, and engaging to live a new life. Accordingly, in Rom. vi., the apostle presents at large the idea, that as Christ died *for* sin when he suffered on the cross, so his followers must die *to* it; i. e., renounce it, when they become his disciples. But they openly and solemnly profess to be so when they are admitted by baptism to make a public profession of the Christian religion. Now, as he died and was buried, in a *physical* sense, for or on account of sin, so we die and are buried, in a *moral* or *spiritual* sense, when we solemnly profess and engage to hate sin and renounce it, as we do in baptism. And it seems to me, that the specific reason why the apostle makes use of *συνετάφημεν* is, that it is a stronger antithesis to the word *συνηγέρθητε* (ye have been raised up), which he employs in the context. I must repeat again, that I find nothing in all the ritual use of water, as an emblem of purification and consecration to God, which seems to prepare the way for the use of baptism by immersion as a symbol of Christ’s literal death and

burial, or rather as bearing a resemblance to this. And this is so strongly impressed on my mind, that I must see more evidence than I now do that Paul meant to make a comparison between literal burial and literal baptism, before I can attach any weight to the argument attempted from Rom. 6 : 3, 4, and Col. 2 : 12, in the controversy about the mode of baptism. The impression is strong upon my mind, that the gist of the true comparison lies in *the being baptized INTO THE DEATH OF CHRIST*; not in *being baptized* only.

When the apostle says, then, in Col. 2 : 12, *συνταφέντες αὐτῷ ἐν τῷ βαπτισματι*, I understand him as employing *ἐν τῷ βαπτισματι* in the Dative, in order to signify the *occasion, means, etc.*, in like manner as the Dative is elsewhere used in a similar way. Thus, when it is said, *He shall baptize you ἐν πνεύματι ἁγίῳ καὶ πνεύματι*, or *ἐν πνεύματι ἁγίῳ* simply, e. g., Matt. 3 : 11; Mark 1 : 8; Luke 3 : 16; John 1 : 33; Acts 1 : 5; 11 : 16; or when it is said, *We have all been baptized into one body, BY ONE SPIRIT, ἐν ἐνὶ πνεύματι*; the meaning cannot be that we have been plunged or immersed into one Spirit, or into one fire, but that by means of these we have been spiritually baptized, or that the Spirit has been copiously poured out upon Christians. So, *being buried with Christ by baptism*, i. e., by baptism into his death, cannot be shown to mean, of necessity, any thing more, than that by the rite of baptism Christians profess to die and be buried, in a moral or spiritual sense, and as to the old man, who, with his lusts, is to be crucified or put to death.

I have now examined all the passages on which re-

liance has been principally had, in order to show, from circumstances and allusions, in what mode the rite of baptism was originally performed in the Christian church. If there may be some doubt remaining in the mind of the reader whether I have allowed them to speak fairly and fully, I can only say, that I have not purposely either kept back any evidence in regard to the subject, of which I am in possession, or willingly magnified any view or statement for the sake of favouring any particular sentiment; for I am not at all concerned in what way the result of this inquiry may come out in respect to the *original mode* of baptism. The *external* mode of an *external* rite never can, with my present views of Christianity, become to me a matter of any peculiar interest in any other point of view than merely that of a historical fact. My full belief is, that since "God is a Spirit," he seeks worshippers "in spirit and in truth;" and that where the *heart* is given to him, the manner of external rites can never be essential. These may concern the *costume* of the church, but never her glorious person.

I have still an inquiry to make under our present head, and one which seems to be important, so far as it concerns our investigation with respect to facts. It is this: Are there not some circumstances, related or implied, in the passages respecting Christian baptism, which seem to render the idea *improbable* that immersion was generally, or at least universally, practised?

Let us examine the narrative in Acts ii. On the day of Pentecost, Acts 2 : 1, the disciples were assembled in one place, and the Holy Spirit was poured out

upon them in a miraculous manner, and they began to speak in foreign languages. This attracted great multitudes to hear them, and these Peter addressed in a powerful manner, setting forth the claims of Jesus, and exhibiting the guilt of their unbelief and their enmity to the Saviour. Under this address, three thousand of the audience .“ were pricked in the heart,” and made anxious for their salvation. On the very same day on which all this happened, these three thousand, it would seem, were all baptized and added to the Christian church ; Acts 2 : 40, 51. The question apposite to our purpose is : *Where and how were they baptized?*

Was it in the brooks or streams near Jerusalem ? I cannot find this to be probable. The feast of Pentecost, being fifty days after the passover, Lev. 25 : 15, must fall into the latter part of the month of May, and after the Jewish harvest. In Palestine, this is usually a time of drought, or at least of great scarcity of rain. The brook Kidron, on the east of Jerusalem, was not a perennial stream ; and the brooks on the south of the city, from the fountain of Shiloh or Gihon, were not adequate, without some special preparation, for the purposes of baptism by immersion, as one must be prone to think from the representations respecting them. Nothing can be more natural, moreover, than the supposition, that if the apostles baptized the three thousand in either of the streams around Jerusalem, it would have been mentioned ; just as it is said of John, that he baptized in the Jordan. No such mention, however, is made.

We must conclude, then, that if baptism by immer-

sion was practised on this occasion, it must have been in baths or washing-places. I do not say that this was impossible, for every one acquainted with the Jewish rites must know that they made much use of ablutions, and therefore they would provide many conveniences for them. But let it be remembered, in respect to the present occasion, that a great many of the three thousand were foreigners. How many belonged to the city of Jerusalem, we cannot tell. But we may ask: Did the apostles baptize, without individual confession and profession, like that of the eunuch, insisted upon by Philip? We can hardly deem this probable. Supposing, then, that these were required, and that the apostles resorted to private baths in order to baptize, would one day, or rather, some three quarters of a day, suffice to perform such a work? On the supposition that only the apostles baptized, and granting, moreover, that Peter ended his sermon at nine o'clock in the morning ("the *third* hour of the day"), whereas he only began it then, the consequence would be, that for the remaining nine hours of the day, = 540 minutes, each apostle must have baptized, on an average, one in about two minutes, inasmuch as each would have had two hundred and fifty baptisms to perform, if they were equally divided. However, I concede that there are some points here which are left undetermined, and which may serve to aid those who differ from me in replying to these remarks. It is true that we do not know that baptism was performed by the apostles only, nor that all the three thousand were baptized before the going down of the sun. The work may have ex-

tended into the evening ; and so, many being engaged in it, and more time being given, there was a possibility that the work in question should be performed, although immersion was practised.

But are these circumstances probable ones, which have just been mentioned ? There is nothing in the record that would naturally lead us to suppose so, and we are left at liberty to deny them with as much probability as any one can assert them—I must think, on the whole, with somewhat more. We shall, perhaps, see further reason for this opinion in the sequel.

In Acts 10 : 47, Peter says, in respect to Cornelius and those with him who believed on Christ : “Can any one *forbid water*, that these should be baptized ?”  $\mu\eta\tau\iota$   $\tau\delta$   $\tilde{\eta}\delta\omega\rho$   $\kappa\omega\lambda\tilde{\nu}\sigma\alpha\iota$   $\delta\tilde{\nu}\eta\tau\alpha\iota$   $\tau\iota\varsigma$  ; Observe that the idea in this case seems almost of necessity to be : “Can any one forbid that *water should be brought in*, and these persons baptized ?” He does not say : Can any one forbid the bath, or the river, i. e., the use of these, by which these persons should be baptized ; but the intimation seems to be that they were to be baptized on the spot, and that water was to be brought in for this purpose. I admit that another meaning is not necessarily excluded, which would accord with the practice of immersion ; but I am persuaded that the more easy and natural interpretation is such as I have now given.

I have the same persuasion respecting the baptism of the jailer, recorded in Acts 16 : 33. Here it is said, that the jailer, after the earthquake and other occurrences, and when brought under deep convictions of sin, took Paul and Silas, at midnight, and *washed them*

*from their stripes*, i. e., washed off the blood which flowed from the wounds made by their stripes; and *straightway* (*παραχρῆμα, forthwith*) *he was baptized, and ALL HIS.* Where was this done? At the jail, or in the jail, where he met Paul and Silas; at any rate, within the precincts of the prison; for *after* the whole transaction was completed, he brought Paul and Silas to his house, and gave them refreshments; *Acts 16: 34.* If it be said, that there was probably a bath in the jail, and that the jailer and his household were baptized in it, I answer, that such accommodations in the prisons of ancient days are at least very improbable. Who does not know that mercy or convenience in a prison is a thing of modern times—the work or result of Christian beneficence, not of Pagan compassion. Still, the possibility of this cannot be denied. But the *probability* is surely not very great, when we reflect, that neither here nor in the instance recorded in *Acts 10: 47*, is any intimation given of a resort to the bath in order to perform the rite of baptism. One may naturally conclude, therefore, that the water brought in to wash the stripes of Paul and Silas, also answered the purpose of baptizing him who furnished it.

In *Acts 22: 16*, Paul relates the words of Ananias to him before he was baptized, and after he had for some days been under most distressing conviction of sin. They are these: *Arise, βάπτισαι, baptize thyself* (Middle voice), i. e., receive baptism, *καὶ ἀπόλονσαι, and WASH AWAY thy sins.* Here the words *βάπτισαι* and *ἀπόλονσαι* appear to be treated as in a manner equivalent to each other; and the natural conclusion

would seem to be, that *washing*, or *washing off*, was the manner of the baptism on this occasion. Still, I acknowledge that this is not a necessary conclusion, for bathing or immersion would produce the effect of *washing off*.

But there is a passage in 1 Cor. 10 : 2, which seems of necessity to imply that *immersion* is not essential to the idea of baptism. It runs thus: *All were BAPTIZED into Moses, IN THE CLOUD AND IN THE SEA.* This refers, of course, to the period and the transactions when the children of Israel passed through the Red Sea, and eluded the pursuit of Pharaoh and his host. But how were they baptized, on this occasion, in the cloud and in the sea? The reader will be enabled to judge for himself, by examining well the following passage, which records the history of that occasion:

Ex. 14 : 19-22, "And the angel of God which went before the camp of Israel, removed, and went behind them; and the pillar of the cloud went from before their face, and stood behind them: And it came between the camp of the Egyptians and the camp of Israel; and it was a cloud and darkness *to them*, but it gave light by night *to these*; so that the one came not near the other all the night. And Moses stretched out his hand over the sea; and the Lord caused the sea to go *back* by a strong east wind all that night, and made the sea dry *land*, and the waters were divided. And the children of Israel went into the midst of the sea upon the *dry ground*; and the waters *were* a wall unto them, on their right hand and on their left."

Here, then, was the cloud which first stood before

them, and then behind them ; and here were the waters of the Red Sea, like a wall on their right hand and on their left. Yet neither the cloud nor the waters touched them. “They went through the midst of the sea upon *dry ground*.” Yet they were *baptized in the cloud and in the sea*. The reason and ground of such an expression must be, so far as I can discern, a surrounding of the Israelites on different sides by the cloud and by the sea, although neither the cloud nor the sea touched them. It is, therefore, a kind of figurative mode of expression, derived from the idea that baptizing is surrounding with a fluid. But whether this be by immersion, affusion, suffusion, or washing, would not seem to be decided. The suggestion has sometimes been made, that the Israelites were *sprinkled* by the cloud and by the sea, and this was the baptism which Paul meant to designate. But the cloud on this occasion was not a cloud of rain ; nor do we find any intimation that the waters of the Red Sea sprinkled the children of Israel at this time. So much is true, *viz.*, that they were not *immersed*. Yet, as the language must evidently be figurative in some good degree, and not literal, I do not see how, on the whole, we can make less of it, than to suppose that it has a tacit reference to the idea of *surrounding* in some way or other.

That *washing* was at least one method, and perhaps even the more ordinary one of practising baptism, may be thought to find some support in such passages as the following, *viz.*, Eph. 5 : 26, where Christ is spoken of as having loved the church, and given himself for

it, that he might sanctify it, *having cleansed it BY THE WASHING of water*, etc. Here the word used for *washing* is *λοντρῷ*, which some render *bath*. Literally and originally, the word, according to the laws of derivation, must signify: (1) The *means of washing*, inasmuch as it comes from *λούω*, to *wash*, in particular, to *wash one's person*, in whole or in part, e. g., *to bathe*, *to wash off* the blood from a wound, etc. But in this sense, i. e., as the *means of washing*, *bath*, *bathing-place*, etc., it is applied by Homer only in the *plural* number. (2) It means the *act of washing*, *washing off*, *cleansing*, etc. In the singular number it occurs first in Hesiod, and is employed to signify *washing*, etc., as just stated. Passow has exhibited its appropriate usage. The reader will see in this case, that the idea of *washing* is connected with the idea of *cleansing*, and that the reference is clearly made to baptism. But the *modus* of this washing is no further determined, than that it is so as to *cleanse*. This, indeed, is consistent with immersion, bathing, or simple washing, and of course it may be said to leave the subject undetermined.

In Titus 3 : 5, we have a similar passage: *He saved us διὰ λοντροῦ παλιγγενεσίας*, by THE WASHING of regeneration, i. e., by that purification or cleansing which regeneration confers. The reference, however, although the language is figurative, is, beyond all doubt, to the rite of baptism, which was emblematic of purification by the Spirit. Still the word *λοντροῦ*, *washing*, or (if you please) *laver*, will not absolutely determine the method in which the water was applied. If it means *bath*, then we can hardly argue the practice of *total* im-

mersion from it, as baths are not usually adapted to such a purpose.

In Heb. 10 : 22, the apostle speaks of Christians as drawing near to God with a true heart and full faith, *being sprinkled or cleansed* (*ἐρράντισμένοι*), *as to their hearts, from an evil conscience, and WASHED* (*λελουμένοι*), *as to their body, with pure water.* That he refers to the rite of baptism here seems hardly to admit of any doubt. The idea of *washing* or *cleansing* is expressed by *λελουμένοι*; but still, the mode of effecting this, whether by immersion, bathing, or washing, does not seem to be necessarily determined; for any one of these would effect a *cleansing* of the body. Yet the more natural understanding of the passage in this, as in the two preceding instances, would seem to be a *washing* with water.

I have now examined all those passages in the New Testament in which the circumstances related or implied would seem to have a bearing on the question before us, viz. : *Whether the MODE of baptism is determined by the sacred writers?* I am unable to find in them any thing which appears to settle this question. I find none, I am quite ready to concede, which seem absolutely to determine that immersion was not practised. But are there not some, which have been cited above, that serve to render it improbable that immersion was always practised, to say the least? I can only say, that such is my persuasion. The reader has the evidence before him, and can judge for himself. He will indulge me, I hope, in the same liberty. I do consider it as quite plain, that none of the circumstan-

tial evidence thus far proves immersion to have been exclusively the mode of Christian baptism, or even that of John. Indeed, I consider this point so far made out, that I can hardly suppress the conviction, that if any one maintains the contrary, it must be either because he is unable rightly to estimate the nature or power of the Greek language; or because he is influenced in some measure by party feeling; or else because he has looked at the subject in only a partial manner, without examining it fully and thoroughly.

Thus much for the evidence derivable from the *circumstances* attending the baptisms mentioned in the New Testament. But were not these, in all probability, conformed in *mode* to baptisms already extant among the Jews? This leads us to another distinct head of inquiry.

### § 7. *Jewish Proselyte-Baptism.*

III. *Was baptism, as an initiatory rite, practised in the Jewish church antecedently to the time when Christian baptism commenced?*

This is a subject replete with difficulty in some respects, because we have not adequate means of casting upon it all the light which is desirable. I begin with the ceremonies prescribed by the Mosaic law in respect to the sacred use of water in ablutions, and inquire whether there is any thing in them which will render one mode of Christian baptism more probable than another. We find, then, the following results:

1. That *washing the clothes only* is one of the ceremo-

nial rites of purification. The first direction of this nature we find in Ex. 19 : 10-14. It was made in relation to a preparation for the giving of the law at Mount Sinai, and, of course, on a most solemn and interesting occasion. Other similar directions, on a variety of occasions, and for the like purpose of purification, the reader will find by consulting Lev. 11 : 28, 40; 13 : 34, 54, 58; 14 : 47; 15 : 17; Num. 8 : 7, 21; 19 : 10, 21. We shall see in the sequel that this is a different rite from that of washing the person.

2. That *washing the person* is also enjoined by way of purification. Aaron and his sons were washed with water when entering on the priest's office; Ex. 29 : 4; 30 : 19-21; 40 : 12; Lev. 8 : 6; 16 : 4, 24. On other occasions, also, when they contracted any pollution, they were commanded to wash; Lev. 22 : 6. In all these and the like cases, the Hebrew verb is רָחַם; which corresponds to the Greek λούω.

3. That *both the clothes and person were to be washed*, on a great variety of occasions, for the sake of purification. E. g., Lev. 14 : 8, 9; 15 : 5, 6, 7, 8, 10, 11, 13, 21, 22, 27; 16 : 26, 28; 17 : 15; Num. 19 : 7, 8, 19.

4. That *sprinkling was used most frequently of all*, by way of purification and consecration. Especially was the sprinkling of *blood* practised for this purpose; e. g., Ex. 24 : 6-8; 29 : 20, 21; Lev. 1 : 5, 11; 3 : 2, 8, 13; 4 : 6, 17; 5 : 9; 7 : 2; 8 : 19, 24, 30; 9 : 12, 18; 14 : 7, 51; 16 : 14, 15, 19; Num. 18 : 17; 19 : 4. Also the sprinkling of *oil*; e. g., Lev. 8 : 11; 14 : 16, 27. Also the sprinkling of the *water* of purification or separation; e. g., Num. 8 : 7; 19 : 13, 18, 20, 21.

5. That *affusion was also used*, in the rites of purification. E. g., Lev. 14 : 18, 29, of oil to be poured on the head of him who was to be cleansed. So the priests were bedewed with oil, when consecrated to their office.

6. That *smearing over* was also a rite of purification. E. g., with oil; Lev. 14 : 17, 28; of blood, Lev. 14 : 25; 16 : 18.

The statement just made, is the result of an examination, extended through the whole of the ceremonial laws of Moses. It is quite possible that some individual instances may have escaped my notice, in such a protracted examination; but this can in no way affect the result of the examples now produced. Do all or any of these examples cast any light upon the Christian rite of baptism?

We may answer this question by saying, that they serve, at least, to show that there is no trace of any such rite as baptism, prescribed by the Jewish ceremonial law, as an *initiatory* rite, i. e., as one which was essential in order to make a profession of the Jewish religion. It is true, indeed, that Aaron and his sons were washed with water, when about to be inducted into the priest's office; see Ex. 29 : 4; Lev. 8 : 6. But it is equally true, that this was only one of very numerous rites of induction to that office. The reader will find them all described at full length, in Ex. c. 29, and Lev. c. 8.

It appears quite plain, that the washing of the priests, as preparatory to their entering upon their office, was in no other sense initiatory, than as a means of ceremonial purification, and an emblem of that purity of

heart which was essential to a proper discharge of the duties of their office. This rite, therefore, was not different, as to its essential meaning or intention, from the like rite as practised by others, for the sake of ceremonial purification. Indeed, I can see no difference as to the object which was to be attained, between washing the clothes, the person, or the clothes and the person both. It seems to be the fact, however, that washing of the *person only*, was a ceremony confined to the order of the priests; as may be seen by consulting the passages under No. 2 above. But at Mount Sinai, all the people were required to wash their clothes, Ex. 19: 10-14; and so on divers other occasions, as may be seen by the references under No. 1. On a variety of occasions, likewise, all who had contracted certain kinds of pollution, were required both to "wash their clothes and bathe themselves in water." The word *bathe*, in all the cases appealed to under No. 3 where it is used, corresponds to the Hebrew *רָחַם* to wash. Why our translators have rendered the word *wash* in one case, and *bathe* in another, it is difficult to see. Neither *washing* nor *bathing* appear to be the same as *plunging* or *immersing*; for neither the word *לָבַב*, to merge, immerse, nor the word *עַלְבָשָׁי*, to overwhelm, inundate, is used in reference to these ceremonial washings.

As this is a point of some importance, I must dwell for a moment upon it. The word *לָבַב*, *dip, immerse*, is used in Lev. 4: 6; 14: 16; 9: 9, in respect to the priest's *dipping his finger* into blood or oil, in order to sprinkle them before the Lord. So also in Lev. 4: 17; and in a similar way as to the dipping of various things

into blood, in order to sprinkle it, in Lev. 14: 6, 51; Ex. 12: 22. So of dipping a bundle of hyssop into water, in order to sprinkle it, Num. 19: 18. In all these cases, it is evident at first view, that the dipping of the finger, the hyssop, etc. is merely preparatory to a rite to be performed, and is in no case of itself a proper rite.

All the other examples of טבֵל in the Hebrew Scriptures, are very few; and I refer to them here, in order that any one who chooses may consult them: Ruth 2: 14; Deut. 33: 24; Ezek. 33: 15, בָּיִלְתִּים, *dyed, coloured*; 1 Sam. 14: 28; Job 9: 81; 2 K. 5: 14, which is the only example respecting immersion of the whole person, and refers to Naaman's dipping himself seven times in the river Jordan; 2 K. 8: 15; Gen. 37: 31; Joshua 3: 15, which respects the dipping of the priest's feet, who bore the ark, in the brim of the river Jordan.

As to the other word נִטְבֵּשׁ, it properly means to *inundate, to overflow, overwhelm, etc.* The only examples of its occurrence in the Mosaic law, are in Lev. 6: 28, respecting a brazen pot; Lev. 15: 12, respecting a vessel of wood; and Lev. 15: 11, respecting the hands of a person. In these three cases, our English version renders the word נִטְבֵּשׁ, by *rinsed*, which implies *immersion*. But in no case is the word applied to the whole person, or to the clothes of any individual.

We find, then, no example among all the Levitical washings or ablutions, where immersion of the person is required. The word רַחֲמָה, which is almost uniformly employed, and which our translators have rendered *wash* and *bathe*, does not imply *immersion*. It may, in-

indeed, admit the idea of immersion, because a washing or ablution may be effected in this way ; - but on the other hand, the meaning of the verb is equally well answered, without immersion.

Washing the clothes, then, or washing the person, or both the person and clothes ; or sprinkling of blood, oil, water ; affusion of oil, or smearing with oil or blood ; were all the rites which had relation to liquid substances, so far as they were concerned with application to person or dress. From none of these, can any example be drawn, to show or even illustrate the necessity of *total immersion*, as an initiatory rite under the Christian dispensation.

Is there, then, any thing in the ancient law which enjoins *baptism*, on either the Jew or the Gentile proselyte, when becoming a member of the Hebrew community or church ? I cannot find a word to this purpose in the Scriptures. In the original institution of the rite of circumcision, Gen. 17 : 9-14, this rite, and this only, is demanded, as the ceremonial of entrance among the Jewish community. The same requisition is made, both of the native Hebrew and of any foreigner who comes under his control. So again in Ex. 12 : 48, 49, it is expressly enjoined, that the *stranger* shall be circumcised, in order to keep the feast of the passover ; and it is at the same time declared, that "one law shall be to him that is home-born, and to the stranger." In all this, there is not even a reference to any ablution whatever.

Ablution, then, was not an original condition of membership of the church, under the ancient dispensation. It was obligatory, as we have seen, in many

forms, upon those who were already members of it, *but not to their becoming so.*

In later times, then, than the giving of the law in the wilderness, must the practice of baptizing proselytes have sprung up. It was an idea very natural to a Jew, that a man who passed over from a heathen state to the Hebrew church, was unclean of course in his heathen state, and needed to be purified. Hence the ablution so common among the Jews, in order to become ceremonially pure, might very easily be extended to him. And one can hardly doubt, that in consequence of such analogical reasoning, baptism came at length to be considered by the Jews, as essential to the due introduction of a Gentile to their church.

But did such a custom exist among the Jews, antecedently to the ministry of John the Baptist and of Jesus? A question long and variously disputed, and which seems, as yet, hardly to be settled to the satisfaction of all. The impression, however, has become widely extended in the Christian church, that such was the fact; and inasmuch as it is conceded that proselyte baptism was usually by *immersion*, it becomes necessary to our purpose, to examine into this subject.

The reader should be advertised, however, that there is by no means a general agreement among the learned, in regard to this question. While the majority of the older writers have adopted the opinion of Selden, Lightfoot, Danz, Buxtorf, Schoettgen, Wetstein, and others, that the baptism of proselytes was common when John the Baptist made his appearance as a public teacher; others of no small ability and reputation have denied

strenuously that there is any satisfactory evidence of this. Among these are Ernesti, Bauer, Paulus, De Wette, and (in a modified way) E. G. Bengel, of recent times; also John Owen, Wernsdorf, Zeltner, Carpzov, and others, among the older writers. Most of these writers I have consulted; a great part of them, however, do but repeat what had been already said by some leading author. The substantial part of the case, I shall now endeavour to lay before the reader.

1. There can be no doubt, that among the Jews of later times, probably from some time in the latter part of the third century downwards, the baptism of proselytes has been generally regarded as a constituent part of the rite of initiation into the Jewish community, when a Gentile convert was to be introduced.

Maimonides, in the twelfth century, speaks very fully and positively as to such a practice; and he extends it to the Hebrews, as well as to others. "By three things," says he, "Israel was introduced to the covenant; by circumcision, baptism, and sacrifice. Circumcision was in Egypt; as it is said, No uncircumcised person shall eat of the passover. Baptism was in the desert, before the giving of the law; as it is said, Thou shalt sanctify them to-day and to-morrow, and they shall wash their clothes," etc. *Issure Biah*, cap. 13. Here he has mistaken the *washing of the clothes* for the immersion of the whole person; a palpable mistake, as may be seen by comparing the cases of ablution already cited above. Again: "Whenever any Gentile wishes to be received into the covenant of Israel, and associate with them, . . . circumcision, baptism, and voluntary

offering, are required. If the person be a female, then only baptism and offering." *Ibid.*

Danz, in two dissertations on this subject, printed in Meuschen's *Nov. Test. ex. Talmude illustratum*, has cited examples in abundance to show that such is and has been the general opinion of the Jewish Rabbins. In fact, it has become among them even a trite maxim, *אִין גָּר עַד שְׂרָמוֹל וְטַבּוֹל*, *there is no proselyte until he is circumcised and baptized.*

Yet, all this being conceded, as to the opinion of Rabbins earlier and later, it makes but little to our purpose. One has only to look into the Gospels, or into the Mishna, in order to find conclusive evidence that the Jews have added unnumbered ceremonies to their ancient law. Whether they hold these to be binding or otherwise, is a matter of no consequence to our present purpose. Our present inquiry respects only the *antiquity* of the usage in question; and on this point all the overwhelming mass of quotations produced in the pedantic and tedious dissertations of Danz give little or no satisfaction.

The oldest source of Jewish Rabbinical traditions, next after the works of Josephus and Philo, the New Testament, and the Targums of Onkelos and Jonathan, is the Mishna, i. e., *repetition*, or oral law—second law, collected by Rabbi Judah Haqqodesh, i. e., the Holy, about A. D. 220. From this work, which contains such an almost infinite number of Jewish superstitions, usages, and rites, I have as yet seen but one passage produced which seems to have any direct bearing upon our question. It runs thus:

גר שנתקזריר פסחיר ברות שמאי אומרים טובל ואוכל את פכתי  
לערב וברית הלל אומרים הפורש מן הערלה כפורש מן הקבר  
i. e., as to a proselyte, who becomes a proselyte on the  
evening of the passover, the followers of Shammai say,  
Let him be baptized (טבְּלָה) and let him eat the passover  
in the evening; but the disciples of Hillel say, He who  
separates himself from the prepuce separates himself from  
a sepulchre; Tract. Pesalhim, c. VIII., § 8.

De Wette, in commenting on this, says, that טבְּלָה is here equivalent to *lavatus*, washed; Opusc. Theol. p. 62. It may be so; for the Heb. טבְּלָה, like the Greek *βάπτω* and *βαπτίζω*, might mean *to wash*, *to bathe*, etc. But inasmuch as this word is not employed in any part of the Mosaic institutes in respect to the ablutions there specified, and as the compiler of the Mishna must have been intimately acquainted with the ritual parts of these institutes, I can hardly believe, on the whole, that the word טבְּלָה has such a meaning in this place. It more probably means *baptized*, *immersed*.

Accordingly, in the Jerusalem Talmud, Tract. Pesah. p. 36, c. 2, in the way of allusion to the passage of the Mishna just quoted, and in explanation of it, Rabbi Eliezer, the son of Jacob, is represented as saying that some Roman soldiers, who kept guard at Jerusalem, ate of the passover, *being baptized* (ו-טבְּלָה) *on the evening of the passover*. De Wette (Opusc. p. 63) construes this passage in the same way as he does that of the Mishna above recited. But Bauer allows it to be a case of proselyte-baptism; *Gottensdienst. Verfassung*, II., p. 389.

The Jerusalem Talmud, it will be remembered, was

composed during the latter part of the third century, some fifty or sixty years (the time is not exactly known) after the Mishna was reduced to writing. I cannot resist the impression, therefore, that the custom of baptizing proselytes before they were admitted to the passover, was at least distinctly known among the Jews of the third century. Indeed, it is difficult to see how we can avoid the conclusion that such a custom was older than the third century. The Mishna, certainly, for the most part, only reduces to writing what was before extant in traditions orally preserved. It is probable, then, that the custom, in a greater or less extent, of baptizing proselytes, must have existed in the second century, and possibly still earlier.

Let it be noted, however, that the very passage in the Mishna quoted above, shows that the ancient Jews were not agreed in relation to the effect produced by baptizing proselytes before their admission to the passover; in other words, they were not agreed as to its being a sufficient *initiatory* rite, even when circumcision accompanied it. The disciples of Shammai affirm, that when a circumcised proselyte is baptized he ought to be admitted to the passover; but those of Hillel maintain, that circumcision, when recent, is not a sufficient expurgation, not even when baptism follows it; for such seems plainly to be the meaning of the words, *he who separates himself from the prepuce separates himself from a sepulchre*; i. e., he has need still of such repeated lustrations as one must practise who has been polluted by a dead body in the grave.

According to Jewish tradition, Hillel and Shammai

lived in the time of Augustus Cæsar and Herod the Great—i. e., they flourished about forty years before the birth of Christ. They were the heads of two sects among the Pharisees, and became bitterly opposed to each other in almost every thing where there was any room for difference of opinion. But Hillel appears to have acquired a great ascendancy over Shammai in the opinion of the Rabbins. In the Talmud it is related of him (*Succa*, fol. 28. 1), that “Hillel had eighty disciples in his old age, of whom thirty were worthy of the presence of the divine Majesty; thirty others, that the sun should stop in its course, as it did for Joshua, the son of Nun; the other twenty were of more moderate capacity, the greatest among them being Jonathan Ben Uzziel [the famous Chaldee Paraphrast], and the least, Rabbi Jochanan ben Zacchai” [a celebrated Rabbin]. I insert this merely to show what views the Jews entertained of Hillel, while little is said in the way of boasting with respect to Shammai.

I do not take it for granted, however, that Hillel and Shammai did themselves agitate the disputed question about baptism. Doubtless, many subjects of dispute *originated* among their followers, and this may have been the case in regard to the question about proselyte baptism, for the words of the Mishna would not disagree at all with such an exposition. I understand the Mishnical author as meaning to say, that the two famous sects of Hillel and Shammai disputed on the subject of baptizing proselytes at the time when he was writing. Of how long standing this dispute had been, I do not see that we can gather from the words of the Mishna.

The authority of the more dominant party, then, at the time when the Mishna was written, decided that baptism was not a complete initiatory rite, even after circumcision. But the opinion of the party adverse to them appears, at last, to have become the prevailing one, as we shall see in the sequel.

It would seem to follow, from what has now been laid before the reader, that the practice of baptizing proselytes was at least known among the Jews in the second century, or, if we are to credit the testimony of the Jerusalem Talmud, still earlier. But, inasmuch as the evidence before us may appear, perhaps, to leave this matter somewhat in doubt, we may now very naturally ask, Is there any other source of evidence to which we can appeal? What have Philo, and Josephus, and the Targums of Onkelos and Jonathan, said or hinted relative to the baptism of proselytes?

The answer to this question, so important to our present purpose, is, *Nothing*—at least nothing which serves at all to confirm the idea that the practice in question was extant, or at any rate notorious, at the time when these authors composed their works. All of them lived not far from the commencement of the Christian era—Philo somewhat before, Josephus somewhat after, and Onkelos and Jonathan about the same periods. I know the age of these two Chaldee translators has been questioned, and set down to a period much later, by Eichhorn and some others; but it is now generally admitted that they may fairly be ranked among writers who lived at, or very near, the commencement of the Christian era.

In all these writers, so far as their works have yet been examined, there appears to be a deep and universal silence on the subject of baptizing proselytes—a thing quite unaccountable in case such baptism were usual at that period. Nay, there is one passage in Josephus which seems to afford strong ground of suspicion that the rite in question was unknown at a period not long antecedent to the time of the apostles. This author is relating the history of John Hyrcanus, high-priest and king of the Jews, a zealous Pharisee, and one who, according to Josephus, was favoured with divine revelations. He says that Hyrcanus (about 126 A. C.) took certain cities from the Idumæans; “and he commanded, after subduing all the Idumæans, that they should remain in their country if they would circumcise themselves, and conform to the Jewish customs. Then they, through love of their country, underwent circumcision, and submitted to the other modes of living which were Jewish, and from that time they became Jews.” Ant. XIII. 9. 1. ib. 15. 4.

Now, as Hyrcanus was a most zealous Pharisee, and as the Pharisees, in all probability, first began the practice of baptizing proselytes, it would seem quite strange that nothing should be done on this occasion with respect to the baptism of a whole nation, or, at least, that nothing should be said by Josephus respecting it, in case he regarded it as essential to the reception of foreigners among his own people. I am aware that we cannot always argue from the silence of writers, against the existence of this or that practice; but this would seem to be one of the cases in which silence

speaks strongly against the probability of the practice in question at that period.

We add, moreover, to what has now been exhibited, that Justin Martyr, in his Dialogue with Trypho the Jew, has let fall no expression from which any thing can be deduced, in regard to the practice, by the Jews, of the rite under consideration.

We come now to later testimonies, and such as cannot be of any great weight in determining the question relative to the antiquity of proselyte baptism. I shall therefore relate them in as succinct a manner as is consistent with perspicuity.

In the Babylonish Talmud, Cod. Jevamoth, fol. 46, the following passage occurs: "As to a proselyte, who is circumcised, but not baptized, what of him? Rabbi Eliezer says: 'Behold, he is a proselyte; for thus we find it concerning our fathers, that they were circumcised, but not baptized.' But as to one who is baptized, and is not circumcised, what of him? Rabbi Joshua says: 'Behold, he is a proselyte; for thus we find it respecting maid-servants, who were baptized, but not circumcised.' But the Wise Men say: 'Is he baptized, but not circumcised; or is he circumcised, but not baptized; he is not a proselyte until he is circumcised and baptized.'"

I translate from Lightfoot, Hor. Heb. p. 266. The Talmud of Babylon is a work of a late period, being a compilation made by the Babylonish Jews, during the fifth, sixth, and seventh centuries. Here, then, is a narration which respects the opinion of Eliezer the son of Hyrcanus, and Joshua the son of Hananiah, who are

said to have lived near the time when the temple was destroyed. Not improbably, then, this dispute was like to that mentioned in the Mishna, on which I have already commented.

Setting aside now the great uncertainty which attends almost all ancient chronological matters in the Talmud, and supposing the two Rabbins here mentioned to have lived at or near the time when the temple was destroyed, it would follow only, that about this time the practice of baptizing proselytes was in existence, but was a matter of dispute and difference of opinion ; which in this respect accords with the tenor of the passage already quoted from the Mishna. The *Wise Men*, to whom the Talmud appeals, seem plainly to be the later Rabbins, and probably those who lived at the period when the passages were written, which we are now examining.

A few other citations only, from the same Talmud, will be necessary ; as all which can be required is, that confirmation should be given to the idea, that the authors of the Talmud in question were familiarly acquainted with proselyte baptism.

Wetstein has collected a larger mass of these testimonies than I have elsewhere found, except in Danz ; and in him they are much less select, and often little or nothing to the purpose. From those of Wetstein, I select the following, as being abundantly sufficient for my purpose.

In his Nov. Test. ad Matt. 3 : 6, they stand thus : Talm. Babylon. Tract. Ketabhoth, fol. 11. 1, Rabbi Hanina said : Let them *baptize* a little child who is a

proselyte, according to the opinion of the Elders." Tract. Jebamoth, Talmud Hierosol. fol. 8. 4, "Rabbi Hezekiah said: Behold, he finds an infant cast away, and *baptizes* it in the name of a servant." But this case is somewhat uncertain, as the baptism may not have been altogether of a religious nature. Talmud. Hieros. Berakhoth, fol. 6. 3, "In the days of Rabbi Joshua, the son of Levi, they endeavoured to root out this *immersion* (baptism), for the sake of the women of Galilee, eo quod illæ præ frigore sterilescerent." Talm. Bab. Cherithuth fol 9. 1, "Rab says: How was it that the fathers did not enter into the covenant, except by circumcision, *baptism*, and the sprinkling of blood?" Ibid. in Avoda Sara, fol. 57. 1, "Rabbi Simi, the son of Chaia [says]: He who provides for himself Gentile servants, who are circumcised, but not baptized; or the sons of female servants, who are circumcised, but not baptized; sputum et vestigium corum in platea est immundum. . . . Proselytes do not enter into the covenant except by these three things, circumcision, *baptism*, and peace-offering. Ibid. fol. 59. 5, et Jebamoth 46. 1, "Rabbi Jochanan: Never shall any one be deemed a proselyte, until he is *baptized* as well as circumcised; for before he is baptized he is regarded as a foreigner." Jebamoth fol. 46. 2, "Rabbi Joseph says: If any one comes saying, I am circumcised, but not baptized, let them see that he is baptized. Rabbi Judah says: Baptism is the principal thing."

These, and several others of the same tenor, not only from the Talmud, but from other Rabbinical works, such as Bereshith Rabba, etc., the reader will find in a Latin

translation in Wetstein, as above cited ; he will also find some of them, and many others, usually accompanied by the original Hebrew and Chaldee, in the work of Danz before alluded to, and contained in Meuchen's *Nov. Test. ex Telmude illustratum*.

I have not thought it of sufficient importance to transcribe the originals here ; for the amount of all the testimonies from the Talmud, especially the Babylonish Talmud, and the other works of the Rabbins, can be but of small importance, in determining the question concerning the antiquity of proselyte baptism. I concede the point most fully and freely to all who may desire it, that after the third century, if not sooner, this baptism began to be very general among the Jews ; and has been so ever since. Danz has given evidence enough of this, in his chaotic mass of quotations ; and so have Lightfoot, Selden, Wetstein, and many others.

But Wetstein has quoted one passage from the Mishna, which, if correct, may be thought to be of importance to our subject ; inasmuch as the Mishna is the earliest of the Rabbinical writings on which we can place any dependence. Wetstein (Nov. Test. I. p. 260) quotes thus : “*Semachoth*, Mishna vii. Si non vult fieri proselyta ; sed si vult proselyta fieri, *baptizat* eam, et libertatem illi donat, et statim est licita.” I have looked in vain for this passage in the Mishna ; for there is not such a title to any of its treatises as Wetstein here names. I do not deny that the passage exists in the Mishna ; but if it does, it must be found in some other way than through the medium of Wetstein. Even if it exists there, it would be difficult to show, that by

the baptism in question, is meant a proselyte baptism of initiation.

The reader has before him the substance of the testimony in respect to the antiquity of the baptism of proselytes, so far as it has been developed from Rabbinic sources. Appeals, however, have been made to two passages in heathen writers, of which some notice must here be taken.

Tacitus, who died about A. D. 100, speaking of certain persons (Hist. V. 5), says : “*Transgressi in morem Judæorum, idem usurpant, nec quidquam prius imbuuntur, quam contemnere deos, exuere patriam,*” etc. i. e., *Going over to the Jewish manner of life, they practise the same thing ; nor are they IMBUED with any thing sooner than to despise the gods, to renounce their country,* etc. Or this last phrase may be thus translated: *Nor are they IMBUED, before they despise the gods, renounce their country,* etc. In the preceding sentence, Tacitus speaks of circumcision as practiced by the Jews, that they may be distinguished from others. Hence, *Transgressi in morem Judæorum, idem usurpant,* must mean, that those who become proselytes to Judaism, do the same thing, viz., practise circumcision; and by this they become Jews. What follows seems to me plainly to relate to the doctrines or principles with which they are *imbued*, and not to the baptism which may be practised.

The passage in the Epictetus of Arrian (who flourished in the first part of the second century), Lib. II. c. 9, is still more obscure. It runs thus: “Why dost thou call thyself a Stoic ? Why dost thou deceive the

multitude? Why dost thou, being a Jew, play the hypocrite with the Greek? Dost thou not see how any one is called a Jew, how a Syrian, how an Egyptian? And when we see any one acting with both parties, we are wont to say: He is no Jew, but he plays the hypocrite. But when ἀναλάβῃ τὸ πάθος τοῦ βεβαμμένου καὶ ἡρημένου, *he takes on him the state and feelings (πάθος) of one who is WASHED or BAPTIZED (βεβαμμένου) and has attached himself to the sect*, then he is in truth, and is called, a Jew. But we are παραβαπτίσται, *transgressors as to our baptism*, or *falsely baptized*, if we are like a Jew in pretence, and something else in reality," etc. A great variety of opinions have been given on this passage. Some think that Arrian here refers to Christians; but I see no good ground for such a supposition. De Wette says, Opusc. p. 64, that "the passage is too obscure to collect any thing certain from it." One thing, however, seems to me certain; viz., that the passage does not refer simply to a Gentile proselyte becoming a Jew, but marks what the *Jew* was accustomed to practise. I can scarcely doubt, that the writer refers to the Jewish ablutions, so often demanded by the ritual law, and so often practised by the Hebrews. It is more difficult to make out the meaning of ἡρημένου, which is coupled with βεβαμμένου. The Middle voice of *aipeō* means *to choose, to prefer*; and as ἡρημένου is both of the Passive and Middle form, it may have here an Active sense, and may mean, as I have translated it, *attached himself to a sect*, i. e., become one of the *aîreōtis* or *sect*. Paulus, Comm. I. p. 283, has endeavoured to explain away the force of the whole passage; and De

Wette has followed in his steps, as is stated above. Bauer (Gottesdienstl. Verfassung, II. p. 390) has treated this question more fairly; but he suggests, that *βεβαμένον* may probably refer to a Christian, whom Arrian confounds with a Jew, as early heathen writers were wont to do. The context does not seem to allow of this construction. On the whole, I concede this to be a difficult and obscure passage, in some respects. The *τὸ πάθος τοῦ βεβαμένον καὶ ἥρημένον*, is certainly a peculiar Greek phrase; yet, if we construe it in whatever way is fairly possible, I think we cannot make out from it any degree of certainty, that *βεβαμένον* refers to proselyte baptism.

Another passage, found in Josephus, has also been appealed to, which states the custom of the Essenes in regard to the reception of proselytes among them; Bel. Jud. 11. 8. 7, or p. 786 of the Cologne edition. It runs thus: "To those who are desirous of joining their sect, immediate access is not afforded; but they prescribe to each their own peculiar manner of living for one year while he remains without . . . And when he has given proof of his temperance for such a time, he secures admission to their meals, *καὶ καθαρωτέρων τῶν πρὸς ἀγνείαν ἴδατων μεταλαμβάνει, and is made partaker of those purer waters which are designed for purification;*" i. e., he is washed with water before he sits down at the table with them. But so were the Essenes themselves, as is stated in another and preceding part of the same chapter in Josephus. His words are: "Labouring strenuously [at their usual occupation] until the fifth hour, they then assemble together in one place, and girding them-

selves with linen towels, *they wash the body in cold water*; and after this purification, they enter each his own house, . . . . and being purified, they assemble at the supper-hall, as a kind of sacred temple.” Bell. Jud. II. 7. or 8. 5. Nothing more, then, was required of the converts to Essenism than was demanded of those who already belonged to this sect. Nor, indeed, is it at all correct to assume that the bathing specified above was a token of admission in full to the communion of the Essenes; for, as the context tells us, “he [the new convert] is not yet received into their society (*συμβιώσεις*), for after exhibiting his power of self-restraint [for one year], his moral behaviour is put to the test *for two years more*.” Ibid. The *initiatory* rite of baptism, then, as practised by John the Baptist, or by the disciples of Christ, does not seem to be deduced from the practice of the Essenes. The ablutions of the Jews in general were quite as obvious a source of this rite as the custom of that sect.

Thus much for Rabbinic and other external testimony in regard to the antiquity of the baptismal rite among the Jews. Nothing from the heathen writers or Josephus seems in any degree to confirm this antiquity. From the Rabbinic writers all that we can gather is, that sometime in the latter part of the third century, when the Jerusalem Talmud was written, the custom of baptizing proselytes was common; still more so did it become during the times when the Babylonian Talmud was written, i. e., from the commencement of the fifth century onward, some two hundred or more years. I must except, however, the testimony of the

Mishna from the above remarks. This has been made light of by some, or explained away by rendering טבָנָה *washed, cleansed*; but I cannot help the feeling, that impartiality in weighing testimony forbids this.

On the whole we must admit, that, independently of the Scriptures, we have evidence which ought to satisfy us, that at the commencement of the third century the custom of proselyte baptism was known and practised among the Jews; and if the case of the Roman soldiers, related in the Jerusalem Talmud in Cod. Pesachim, fol. 36. b., as stated above, be truly represented, then, even while the temple was standing, proselyte baptism must have been practised. But some degree of uncertainty always hangs over Talmudic stories. There are so many narrations in the Talmud which are gross mistakes and ridiculous conceits, that one hardly feels himself safe in trusting to any of its statements respecting facts that happened long before the period when this book was written. We may, however, venture to believe, I think safely, that we have sufficient evidence of the fact, that *such baptism was practised at, or not long after, the time when the second temple was destroyed.*

But we shall be remiuded here that many writers have considered the Bible itself as determining our question—yea, determining that not only proselytes from the heathen were admitted by baptism to the Jewish communion, but that the whole congregation of Israel, at Mount Sinai, were admitted into covenant with God by virtue of the same rite. Such writers appeal to Ex. 19:10, sq. But this shows only that the people were to wash their *clothes*, a thing which the whole ritual

of Moses plainly distinguishes from washing or baptizing the body, as may be seen in the account of the ritual ablution given above, p. 306, sq. They appeal also to Ps. 114 : 1, 2; Ezek. 16 : 9; 20 : 12; 1 Cor. 10 : 2, as serving to confirm the idea that the Jews were admitted to the covenant by baptism. But I am unable to discern in these passages of Scripture the traces of an argument which can establish this.

An appeal of a more specious nature is made to the narration in John 1 : 19-28. The messengers of the Pharisees, who were sent to make inquiries of John the Baptist, asked him, "Why baptizest thou, then, if thou be not that Christ, nor Elias, neither that prophet?" These two latter individuals their traditional interpretation of the Scriptures had connected with the coming of the Messiah. The manner of the question does obviously seem to imply that they expected, of course, the Messiah himself and his two coadjutors, Elijah and the prophet, to baptize those whom they should receive as disciples. But does this imply that proselyte baptism was already in use? So it has been thought and said. Yet I cannot see how this follows of necessity. Nay, I must even say that the necessary implication seems directly the contrary. What was the *initiatory rite* which they expected under a dispensation that, even in their own view, was to be *new*, and very different in many respects from the former one? Was it to be a new rite, a distinctive sign, or was it to be merely the continuation of an old practice already in common usage? The former surely seems to be the most natural and probable. Indeed, the manner of the

question put to John absolutely forbids the idea that those who put it considered baptism as a rite in common use. The necessary implication is, that unless John were either the Messiah, or Elijah, or the prophet, he could have no right to baptize. How could this be said with any good degree of force or congruity in case the same kind of baptism which John practised was a matter of common usage? An appeal to this text, then, serves rather to confirm the opinion opposite to that for the support of which the appeal is made.

In fine, we are destitute of any early testimony to the practice of proselyte baptism antecedently to the Christian era. The original institution of admitting Jews to the covenant, and strangers to the same, prescribed no other rite than that of circumcision. No account of any other is found in the Old Testament; none in the Apocrypha, New Testament, Targums of Onkelos, Jonathan, Joseph the Blind, or in the work of any other Targumist, excepting Pseudo-Jonathan, whose work belongs to the 7th or 8th century. No evidence is found in Philo, Josephus, or any of the earlier Christian writers. How could an allusion to such a rite have escaped them all if it were as common and as much required by usage as circumcision?

The baptism of John and of Jesus, then, I must regard as being a special appointment of Heaven. So the intimation seems to be in John 1:33; Luke 3:2, 3; 7:30; and especially in Matt. 21:24-27. In this latter passage, Jesus evidently means to imply that the baptism of John was from heaven; and so the Jewish people regarded it, v. 26.

That we cannot point out the exact time when proselyte baptism began among the Jews, is little to the purpose of those who hold to its great antiquity; for where are the monuments which show how and when many a rite began which came into general reception in the churches of Christ in the third, fourth, and fifth centuries? Nor can I think, with many writers, that there is any thing mysterious in respect to the adoption of such a rite by the Jewish churches. How obvious the idea that a heathen man who came over to the Jewish churches was unclean in his heathen state! And what could be more natural than to require ablution of him, especially when the days of Pharisaic superstition were fully come? The Rabbins tell us that circumcision, baptism, and oblation, were all necessary to his initiation. How, then, could the baptism of John or Jesus, which was the *sole* initiatory rite, be derived from the proselyte baptism of the Jews?

Besides all this, when a proselyte was once baptized and received, this rite was at an end. His children born after his reception were no more required to be baptized than those of the native Jews. What parallel, then, can be drawn between Christian and proselyte baptism?

Dr. Owen expresses his opinion that the Rabbins introduced proselyte baptism in imitation of the popular baptism of John; *Theologium. Lib. V. Digr. 4.* So thinks Carpzov, also, in his *Apparat. Criticus*, p. 48. Improbable, I think, this cannot be called, and particularly in connection with the many ceremonial ablutions of the Jews, it cannot be so deemed.

That the Jews of our Saviour's time entertained the idea that he would baptize his disciples, may be well accounted for without resorting to the supposition that proselyte baptism was already practised. Let the reader consult Isa. 12 : 3 ; 44 : 3 ; Ezek. 36 : 25 ; Zech. 13 : 1, and he will easily see how the Jews might have formed an opinion that the Messiah would baptize his disciples. But be this at it may, or be the origin of proselyte baptism as it may, I cannot see that there is any adequate evidence for believing that it existed contemporarily with the baptism of John and of Jesus.

But what has all this to do with the question, *What was the ancient mode of Christian baptism?* Much; for it is on all hands conceded, that so far as the testimony of the Rabbins can decide such a point, the baptism of proselytes among the Jews was by *immersion*. To cite authorities to this purpose is needless. They may be seen in Lightfoot, Hor. Heb. p. 269; in Danz (Meuschen Nov. Test. etc.), p. 283, and elsewhere. It is, therefore, a matter of no little interest, so far as our question is concerned, to inquire whether Christian baptism had its origin from the proselyte baptism of the Jews. This we have now done, and have come to this result, *viz.*, that *there is no certainty that such was the case, but that the probability, on the ground of evidence, is strong against it.*

#### § 8. *Mode of Baptism in the early Christian Churches.*

IV. We come now to inquire, *What was the mode of baptism practised by the churches in the early ages of Christianity, and AFTER the times of the apostles?*

Here we may anticipate something more definite and clear than we have yet been able to find, and consequently this topic of inquiry becomes important to our purpose. It is not my intention here to make a very copious selection of testimonies. An appropriate number, well chosen and from good authorities, will satisfy the reasonable desires of every intelligent reader.

In the writings of the apostolic fathers, so called, i. e., the writers of the first century, or, at least, those who lived in part during this century, scarcely any thing of a *definite* nature occurs respecting baptism, either in a doctrinal or ritual respect. It is, indeed, frequently alluded to; but this is usually in a general way only. We can easily gather from these allusions that the rite was practised in the church; but we are not able to determine, with precision, either the manner of the rite or the stress that was laid upon it.

In the Pastor of Hermas, however, occurs one passage (Coteler. Patr. Apostol. I., p. 119, sq.), which runs as follows: "But this seal [of the sons of God] is water, *in quam descendunt homines morti obligati, into which men descend* who are bound to death, but those ascend who are destined to life. To them that seal is disclosed, and they make use of it that they may enter the kingdom of God."

One would naturally expect something definite from Justin Martyr. But in his Dialogue with Trypho the Jew nothing of this nature occurs. He compares baptism with circumcision, and speaks of it as an initiatory ceremony, but says nothing specific concerning the manner of the rite. In his Apology, however (Opp.

Pat. I., p. 210, ed. Oberthur), a passage occurs which deserves our attention. Speaking of converts to Christianity, or those who become believers, he says: "They are led out by us *to the place where there is water*, . . . and in the name of the Father of the universe, the Lord God, and of the Saviour Jesus Christ, and of the Holy Spirit,  $\tau\ddot{o}\ \hat{\nu}\delta\alpha\tau\iota\ \lambda\o\tilde{\nu}\tau\rho\o\ \pi\o\iota\o\eta\eta\tau\alpha\i$ , *they wash themselves with water* . . .  $\tau\o\tilde{\nu}\tau\o\ \lambda\o\tilde{\nu}\sigma\o\mu\eta\eta\o\ \ddot{\alpha}\gamma\o\eta\tau\epsilon\zeta\ \epsilon\iota\zeta\ \tau\ddot{o}\ \lambda\o\tilde{\nu}\tau\rho\o$ , *leading him who is to be washed to the bath or washing place* . . . he who is enlightened  $\lambda\o\tilde{\nu}\epsilon\tau\alpha\i$ , *is washed, or washes himself*." It is remarkable here that the verb  $\lambda\o\tilde{\nu}\eta\mu\alpha\i$  is employed throughout this passage, which is used by the Greeks to designate *washing the body*. But this may be done by bathing, by simple ablution, or by immersion. Immersion may, of course, be washing, although washing is not, by any means, always the same as immersion. The greater includes the less, but the less does not include the greater. I am persuaded that this passage, as a whole, most naturally refers to immersion; for why, on any other ground, should the convert who is to be initiated *go out to the place where there is water*? There could be no need of this if mere sprinkling, or partial affusion only, was customary in the time of Justin.

Tertullian, who died in A. D. 220, is the most ample witness of all the early writers. In his works is an essay in defence of Christian baptism, which had been assailed by some of the heretics of his time. Passing by the multitude of expressions which speak of the importance of being *cleansed by water, being born in the water*, etc., I quote only such as are directly to the point.

In § 2 he speaks of a baptized person, as "*in aquam de-missus, let down into the water*, i. e., immersed, and *inter pauca verba tinctus*, i. e., dipped between the utterance of a few words;" by which latter expression he means the repetition of the baptismal formula by the priest while he was performing the act.

In § 4 is a passage which seems to convey a still more definite sense. He is speaking of the original waters at the time of the creation having been made a sanctified element by the influence of the Spirit of God upon them, from which he goes on to argue the sanctifying influence of baptismal water. But some will object, he says, that "we are not dipped (*tinguimur*) in those waters which were at the beginning." His reply is, that all water is a species of that genus, and that the species must have the same quality with the genus. He then proceeds: "There is, then, no difference whether any one is washed in a pool, river, fountain, lake, or channel, *alveus*, (canal?) nor is there any difference of consequence between those whom John immersed (*tinxit*) in the Jordan, or Peter in the Tiber." Here, then, we have, in a very clear passage, the usual elements named in which baptism was performed. It was done at or in some stream, pool, or lake. What other good reason for this can be given, excepting that immersion was practised?

In § 6 he says: "Not that we obtain the Holy Spirit *in aquis* [i. e., in the baptismal water], but being cleansed in the water (*in aqua emundati*), we are prepared for the Holy Spirit." § 7. "Afterwards, going out from the *ablution* or *bath* (*lavacro*), we are anointed," etc.

In § 11 and the sequel, he very often makes use of the Latin word *tingo* in order to express the Greek word  $\beta\pi\tau\iota\zeta\omega$ . In § 16 he speaks of those who had been baptized, as being those *qui aqua lavarentur*, *who are washed with water*; and again, *qui aqua lavissent*.

In his book against Praxeas, § 26, sub fine, he says: “Not once, but *thrice*, according to the several names [Father, Son, and Holy Ghost], are we baptized (*tinguimus*) into the several persons.” The reader is desired to note here, and in other passages which will be cited in the sequel, that the practice of *trine immersion*, i. e., of plunging three times into the water, in correspondence with the names of the Godhead as they occur in the formula of baptism, was usual at so early a period as the time of Tertullian; how much earlier we have no certain testimony, at least none that I am acquainted with. Tertullian himself, however, seems to have regarded this *trine* immersion as something superadded to the precepts of the gospel; for thus he speaks in his book *De Corona Militis*, § 3: “Thence we are thrice immersed (*ter mergitamur*), *answering*, i. e., fulfilling *somewhat more* (*amplius aliquid* *respondentes*) than the Lord has decreed in the gospel.”

I do not see how any doubt can well remain, that in Tertullian’s time the practice of the African church, to say the least, as to the mode of baptism, must have been that of *trine immersion*.

Subsequent ages make the general practice of the church still plainer, if, indeed, this can be done. The Greek words  $\kappa\alpha\delta\eta\omega$  and  $\kappa\alpha\delta\eta\sigma\iota\zeta$  were employed as expressive of *baptizing* and *baptism*, and these words

mean *going down into the water*, or *immerging*. So in the following examples :

Chrysostom, Homil. 40 in 1 Cor. i. : "To be baptized, and to *submerge* (*καταδύεσθαι*), then to *emerge* (*ἀνανένειν*), is a symbol of descent to the grave, and of ascent from it." Ambrose, Lib. II. c. 7, de Sacramentis : " You were asked, Dost thou believe in God Almighty ? Thou saidst, I believe ; and *thus thou wast immerged* (mersisti), that is, thou wast buried." Augustine, Homil. IV., as cited by Gratian in P. III. Decretor. de Consecrat. Distinct. IV. Can. 76, " After you professed your belief, three times did we *submerge* (demersimus) your heads in the sacred fountain." Was it the head only ? Or did he mean to include with it the whole body ? Every now and then passages of this nature occur, which lead one to suspect that *total* immersion was not uniform in the early church. But that it was *usual*, seems to be clearly indicated by Dionysius Areop. de Eccles. Hierarch. c. 2, " Properly *ἡ δι' ἔδαστος ὀλικὴ κάλυψις*, the *total covering by water*, is taken from an image of death and burial out of sight." So the Council of Toletan : " For immersion in the water is like a descent to the grave ; and again, emersion from the water (ab aquis emersio) is a resurrection."

The passages which refer to immersion are so numerous in the fathers, that it would take a little volume merely to recite them. Let the reader duly weigh the following ones :

Gregory Nyssen, De Baptismo Christi, " Coming into water, the kindred element of earth, *we hide ourselves* in it, as the Saviour did in the earth ; and doing this

three times," etc. Basil, de Spiritu, c. 15, "By the *three immersions* (*ἐν τρισὶ ταῖς καταδύσεσι*), and by the like number of invocations, the great mystery of baptism is completed." Damascenus, Orthodox. Fides IV. 10, "Baptism is a type of the death of Christ; for by three *immersions* (*καταδύσεων*) baptism signifies," etc. So the Apostolical Constitutions (probably written in the fourth century), Lib. III. c. 17, "Immersion (*κατάδυσις*) denotes dying with him [Christ]; emersion (*ἀνάδυσις*), a resurrection with Christ." Photius (apud Oecumenium) on Rom. vi., "The three *immersions and emersions* (*καταδύσείς καὶ ἀναδύσείς*) of baptism signify death and resurrection." Quest. apud Athanasium, Qu. 94, "To *immerse* (*καταδύσαι*) a child three times in the bath (or pool), and to *emerge* him (*ἀναδύσαι*), this shows the death," etc. Chrysostom, in cap. iii. Johannis, "We, as in a sepulchre, *immersing* (*καταδυόντων*) our heads in water, the old man is buried, and *sinking down* (*καταδὺς κάτω*), the whole is concealed at once; then as we emerge, the new man again rises." Cyril of Jerusalem, Catech. 17, "For as he that goes down into the water and is baptized, is surrounded on all sides with water, so the apostles were baptized all over by the Spirit. The water surrounds the body externally, but the Spirit incomprehensibly baptizes the soul within." Jerome, Advers. Lucif. c. 4, "Many other things which are observed in churches by tradition, have usurped to themselves the authority of the written law [of the Scriptures]; such as *in lavacro ter caput mergitare, to immerse the head three times in the bath.* Id. Comm. in Eph. iv., "Three times are we immersed, that the

mystery," etc. Augustine, in *Decreto Gratiani de Consecrat. Distinc.* IV. 78, "Rightly are ye immerged three times, who have received baptism in the name of Christ, . . . for that thrice repeated submersion (demersio) expresses a resemblance of the Lord's burial," etc.

But enough. "It is," says Augusti (Denkw. VII., p. 216), "a thing made out," viz., the ancient practice of immersion. So, indeed, all the writers who have thoroughly investigated this subject conclude. I know of no one usage of ancient times which seems to be more clearly made out. I cannot see how it is possible for any candid man who examines the subject to deny this.

That there were cases of exception allowed, now and then, is, no doubt, true. Persons in extreme sickness or danger were allowed baptism by affusion; etc. Cyprian pleads strongly and conclusively for this in his epistle to Magnus, Ep. 76 (al 69). The Council of Neo-Cæsarea, Euseb. Lib. VI. c. 43; and so the Council of Laodicea, Can. 47, sanction such baptisms. The *Acta Laurentii, apud Surium Tom. IV.*, mention a Roman soldier who was baptized by Laurence with a pitcher of water; and the same person also baptized Lucillus by pouring water upon his head. But all such cases were manifestly regarded as exceptions to the common usage of the church.

If the testimony already adduced should not be sufficient to satisfy any reasonable person, he may consider one circumstance more, which must be decisive. This is, that all candidates for baptism, men, women, and infants, were completely divested of all their gar-

ments in order to be baptized. Revolting as this custom was, yet it is as certain as testimony can make it.

Thus, Chrysostom (Hom. 6 in *Coloss.*), speaking of baptism, says: "Men were as naked as Adam, . . . but with this difference, Adam was naked because he had sinned, but in baptism a man was naked that he might be freed from sin." So Ambrose, *Serm. X.*, "Naked were we born into the world; naked came we to the baptismal font. . . . How absurd, then, that he whom his mother brought forth naked, the church received naked, should enter heaven with riches!" Cyril of Jerusalem testifies the same thing, *Catech. Myst. 2*, "As soon as ye came into the baptistery, ye put off your clothes, . . . and being thus divested, ye stood naked, imitating Christ, who was naked upon the cross. . . . O wonderful thing! ye were naked in the sight of men, and were not ashamed; in this truly imitating the first man, Adam, who was naked in paradise, and was not ashamed."

One testimony more may suffice. Chrysostom, in describing the violent proceedings of his enemies against him, on the great Sabbath [before Easter], says: "They came armed into the church, and by violence expelled the clergy, killing many in the baptistery; by which the women, who were at that time unclothed, in order to be baptized, were put into such a fright that they fled away naked, and could not stay, in their terror, to put on such clothes as the modesty of the sex required."

Enough of this most unaccountable of all the practices of the ancient church. I am ready to thank God for the honour of the Christian religion, that the New

Testament contains no intimation of such a usage; nor even any of the earlier fathers. How it was possible that it could prevail, is a problem difficult of solution. I know well that the manners of ancient times rendered such things less scandalous than they would now be among us. But who needs to be told, that nothing but ignorance or superstition, to make the very best of the case, could ever have adopted and continued such a shameful practice.

Still, say what we may concerning it in a moral point of view, the argument to be deduced from it, in respect to immersion, is not at all diminished. Nay, it is strengthened. For if such a violation of decency was submitted to, in order that baptism might be performed as the church thought it should be, it argues that baptizing by immersion was considered as a rite not to be dispensed with.

The mode of baptism by immersion, the Oriental church has always continued to preserve, even down to the present time; see Allatii de Eccles. Orient. et Occident. Lib. III. c. 12. § 4; Acta et Script. Thel. Wirtemb. et Patriarch. Constant. Jer. p. 63, p. 238, sq. Christ. Angeli Enchirid. de Statu hodierno Graecor. cap. 24; Augusti, Denkwürd. VII. p. 266, sq. The members of this church are accustomed to call the members of the western churches, *sprinkled Christians*, by way of ridicule and contempt; Walch's Einleit. in die relig. Streitigkeiten, Th. V. pp. 476-481. They maintain that  $\betaαπτίζω$  can mean nothing but *immerse*; and that *baptism by sprinkling* is as great a solecism as *immersion by aspersion*; and they claim to themselves

the honour of having preserved the ancient sacred rite of the church free from change and from corruption, which would destroy its significance; see Alex. de Stourdza, *Considerations sur la Doctrine et l'Esprit de l'Eglise Orthodoxe*, Stuttg. 1816, pp. 83-89.

F. Brenner, a Roman Catholic writer, has recently published a learned work, which contains a copious history of usages in respect to the baptismal rite; viz., *Geschichtliche Darstellung der Verrichtung der Taufe*, etc. 1818. I have not seen the work; but it is spoken of highly, on account of the diligence and learning which the author has exhibited in his historical details. The result of them respecting the point before us, I present, as given by Augusti, *Denkwürd.* VII. p. 68.

“ Thirteen hundred years was baptism generally and ordinarily performed by the immersion of a man under water; and only in extraordinary cases was sprinkling or affusion permitted. These latter methods of baptism were called in question, and even prohibited.” Brenner adds: “ For sixteen hundred years was the person to be baptized, either by immersion or affusion, entirely divested of his garments.”

These results will serve to show what a Roman Catholic writer feels himself forced by historical facts to allow, in direct contradiction to the present practice of his own church; which nowhere practices immersion, except in the churches of Milan; it being everywhere else even forbidden.

In the work of John Floyer on *Cold Bathing*, p. 50, it is mentioned, that the English church practised *immersion* down to the beginning of the seventeenth cen-

tury; when a change to the method of sprinkling gradually took place. As a confirmation of this, it may be mentioned, that the first Liturgy, in 1547, enjoins a *trine immersion*, in case the child is not sickly; *Augusti, ut sup. p. 229.*

We have collected facts enough to authorize us now to come to the following general conclusion, respecting the practice of the Christian church in general, with regard to the mode of baptism, viz., that from the earliest ages of which we have any account, subsequent to the apostolic age, and downward for several centuries, the churches did generally practise baptism by immersion; perhaps *by immersion of the whole person*; and that the only exceptions to this mode which were usually allowed, were in cases of urgent *sickness* or other cases of immediate and imminent danger, where immersion could not be practised.

It may also be mentioned here, that *aspersion* and *affusion*, which had in particular cases been now and then practised in primitive times, were *gradually* introduced. These became at length, as we shall see hereafter, quite common, and in the western church almost universal, sometime before the Reformation.

In what manner, then, did the churches of Christ, from a very early period, to say the least, understand the word  $\betaαπτίζω$  in the New Testament? Plainly they construed it as meaning *immersion*. They sometimes even went so far as to forbid any other method of administering the ordinance, cases of necessity and mercy only excepted.

If, then, we are left in doubt after a philological in-

vestigation of  $\beta\alpha\pi\tau\iota\zeta\omega$ , how much it necessarily implies; if the circumstances which are related as accompanying this rite, so far as the New Testament has given them, leave us still in doubt; if we cannot trace with any certainty the Jewish proselyte baptism to a period as early as the baptism of John and Jesus, so as to draw any inferences with probability from this; still we are left in no doubt as to the more generally received usage of the Christian church, down to a period several centuries after the apostolic age.

That the Greek fathers, and the Latin ones who were familiar with the Greek, understood the usual import of the word  $\beta\alpha\pi\tau\iota\zeta\omega$ , would hardly seem to be capable of a denial. That they might be confirmed in their view of the import of this word, by common usage among the Greek classic authors, we have seen in the first part of this dissertation.

For myself, then, I cheerfully admit, that  $\beta\alpha\pi\tau\iota\zeta\omega$  in the New Testament, when applied to the rite of baptism, does in all probability involve the idea, that this rite was usually performed by immersion, but not always. I say *usually* and *not always*; for to say more than this, the tenor of some of the narrations, particularly in Acts 10:47, 48; 16:32, 33, and 2:41, seem to me to forbid. I cannot read these examples, without the distinct conviction that *immersion* was not practised on these occasions, but *washing* or *affusion*.

For the satisfaction of the reader, I add here a word respecting the manner in which the author of the Peshito, an old Syriac version of the New Testament, has rendered the word  $\beta\alpha\pi\tau\iota\zeta\omega$ .

This version is the oldest of all the translations of the New Testament that are extant; for in all probability it should be dated during the first half of the second century. Withal, it is admitted by those who are able to consult it, to be one of the most faithful and authentic of all the ancient versions.

How does this translate the word in question? Only and always by **בָּשָׂר**, which corresponds (in point of form) to the Hebrew **בָּשָׂר**, the Chaldee **בָּשָׂר**, and the same word in the Arabic. This is a very remarkable circumstance; for the Syriac has a word, **עַמְּסָה**, like the Chaldee **עַמְּסָה** and the corresponding Hebrew **עַמְּסָה**, which means *to plunge, dip, immerse*, etc. See in Mich. Syr. Lex. sub voce. Why should it employ the word **בָּשָׂר** then (i. e., **בָּשָׂר**), in order to render **βαπτίζω**? In the Old Testament it is employed in the like sense, only in Num. 31:34. Elsewhere, the Hebrew **בָּשָׂר** is rendered **עַמְּסָה**. There is no analogy of kindred languages to support the sense in question of the Syriac **בָּשָׂר**. The Hebrew, Chaldee, and Arabic, all agree in assigning to the same word the sense of the Lat. *stare, perstare, fulcire, robore*. It is hardly credible, that the Syriac word could vary so much from all these languages, as properly to mean, *immerse, dip*, etc.

We come almost necessarily to the conclusion, then, inasmuch as the Syriac has an appropriate word which signifies *to dip, plunge, immerse* (**עַמְּסָה**), and yet it is never employed in the Peshito, that the translator did not deem it important to designate any particular mode of baptism, but only to designate the rite by a term

which evidently appears to mean, *confirm, establish, etc.* Baptism, then, in the language of the Peshito, is *the rite of confirmation* simply, while the manner of this is apparently left without being at all expressed.

We now come, after these philological and historical investigations, to our main question. .

### § 9. *Importance of the Mode of Baptism.*

V. *Is any particular mode of applying water in baptism, essential to the performance of this rite?*

The advocates of immersion, in the Oriental church, and elsewhere, sometimes make the appeal to the *sixty millions* of Christians, who, as they affirm, preserve this apostolic usage. But if an appeal to *numbers* be argument, what shall we say to *one hundred and fifty millions*, who practise sprinkling or affusion? Even the Roman Catholic church, jealous as she is of ancient usages, and tenacious of that which the ancient fathers practised, retains immersion, as we have seen, only in the churches of Milan, and inhibits it elsewhere.

What do these facts show? They prove, at least, a general conviction in the minds of Christians, that immersion is not essential, nor even important. I need not make the appeal to multitudes of writers, Catholic and Protestant, who have often and fully expressed this view of the subject. Calvin, *Instit.* IV. c. 15. § 19, says: "It is of no consequence at all (minimum refert), whether the person baptized is totally immersed, or whether he is merely sprinkled by an affusion of water. This should be a matter of choice to the churches in different regions; although the word *bap-*

*tize* signifies *to immerse*, and the rite of immersion was practised by the ancient church."

To this opinion I do most fully and heartily subscribe; not because it is Calvin's, nor because the great majority of Christians have adopted it. I have other, and I trust better, reasons than either of these; and it is proper that I should now give them.

1. The rite in question is *merely external*. I do not deny, that the grace of the Spirit may be given, when baptism is performed; but I feel myself authorized to say, that the rite itself does not *sanctify*; nor does the administration of it secure the sanctifying influences of the Spirit of God. The appeal in proof of this, is to the millions of cases in which baptism has been administered to persons who have shown themselves to be utterly destitute of sanctifying grace, by the whole tenor, from first to last, of their lives and conversation. It is not, then, the *opus operatum*, the rite itself as administered by any Christian minister, which sanctifies, or can sanctify, any individual. All that can with truth be said here, is, that this rite, like any other matter which concerns religious ordinances, may be used to a good purpose, or abused to a bad one.

Whenever an enlightened Christian wishes to make the inquiry, what is *essential* to his religion, should he not instinctively open his Bible at John iv., and there read thus: "Believe me, the hour cometh, when ye shall worship the Father, neither in this mountain nor yet at Jerusalem. . . . The hour cometh, *and now is*, when the true worshippers shall worship the Father in spirit and in truth; for the Father seeketh such to wor-

ship him. GOD IS A SPIRIT, and *they that worship him must worship him IN SPIRIT AND IN TRUTH.*"

Here is the very foundation principle of all Christian and all acceptable worship. God, who is himself a Spirit, requires the homage of our spirits. All else is nothing, while this is withheld; and when this is given, all else is *circumstance*, not essence.

I need not stop to prove positions so plain and certain as these. But I may ask, Can the mode of baptism, which in itself is only an external rite, enter into the essentials of piety or true religion? The mere *mode* of an external rite *essential* to the Christian religion! Does not the question answer itself to every mind that has not gone over into some degree of Pharisaic superstition?

2. But you will say, perhaps, that if the rite is to be performed at all, it must be performed in the manner which the New Testament enjoins. This leads me to my second remark, viz., *That no injunction is anywhere given in the New Testament respecting the manner in which this rite shall be performed.*

If there be such a passage, let it be produced. This cannot be done. But it will, doubtless, be said, that "the *manner* of the rite is involved in the word itself which is used to designate it; and that, therefore, this is as much a matter of command as the rite itself."

To this I answer, that it would prove a great deal too much. I may illustrate this by a case, which is of a parallel nature, and has respect to a rite of equal importance; I mean the Lord's Supper. The original institution of this rite took place at the last passover,

which Jesus and his disciples celebrated in Jerusalem. They were assembled in an upper room; Luke 22:12. They reclined upon the usual sofa or triclinium, on which the ancients reposed at their meals; John, 13:23, 25. It was night when they kept the feast; John 13:30. They kept it with unleavened bread, for no other was found in the houses of the Jews, at the feast of the pass-over; Ex. 12:19. The wine which they drank was that of Palestine—probably red wine. It was kept in leatheren bottles; it was served in peculiar vessels. The bread was made in a certain particular fashion. The clothes of the guests were of a certain form. In a word, all the circumstances of the occasion were, in some respect or other, different from those which now accompany the administration of the Lord's Supper. Yet Jesus gave command respecting this ordinance in the following manner: *THIS DO, in remembrance of me;* Luke 22:19, 20; 1 Cor. 11:24, 25.

I ask, now, all the advocates for the *literal* sense of *βαπτίζω*, who urge upon the churches the original *mode* of this rite, why they do not urge upon them, in the same manner, and for the same reason, the *literal* doing of what Christ commanded as to the sacrament? Is that ordinance, which is a symbol of the blood of Jesus shed for the remission of sins—of that blood which taketh away sin, and without which there is no salvation—is that ordinance of less significance and importance than the rite of baptism? This cannot be pretended. Why, then, do you not plead for its celebration by night; and this, too, in a reclining posture, in an upper chamber, with unleavened bread, with the

dress, furniture, and attendance, that originally were exhibited? You regard not one of all these circumstances—not even a single one. How, then, do you obey the command of Jesus, *THIS DO in remembrance of me?* According to the tenor of your own exegesis, you do not obey it—you cannot, while you do not literally imitate all these particulars.

But you say, I obey the substantial part of the command, viz., to partake of bread and wine, in grateful remembrance of the death of Christ; and this is all which the nature of the case seems to require. The symbol in question is really and truly exhibited, when I celebrate the Lord's Supper in such a way that an appropriate meaning is really and truly given to it. The circumstances of place, time, position of the guests at the table, dress, furniture of the table and room, and other like things, are merely of a local and accidental nature. They cannot make an essential part of the symbolic representation; for this consists merely in using such elements of nourishment and refreshment for the body, as will significantly and appropriately symbolize the nourishment which he receives, who spiritually “eats the flesh and drinks the blood of the Son of Man.”

I accede to the correctness of this answer. It conveys a sentiment which seems spontaneously to commend itself to any one who has enlightened and spiritual views of the Christian dispensation. I can go even beyond the tenor of this answer, and say that, in my apprehension, the sacrament would be really and truly observed, if those elements of nourishment for the

body which are the common and principal ones in any place, should be made use of in lieu of bread and wine, in case these could not be easily procured. The whole symbolic instruction conveyed by the ordinance of the Lord's Supper is this: What food and drink, represented by the more important articles of the same, are to the body for its nourishment and support and comfort, that a crucified Saviour is to the soul, for its life and preservation and comfort. Could not the inhabitants of a country, then, to whom it might not be possible to procure wheat-bread and wine when it was proper to celebrate the Lord's Supper—might they not employ other aliments, which would symbolize the death of Christ, and the benefits of that death to the believer, with the like signification? How can we doubt this, without adopting a principle, which must necessarily, if we are consistent with ourselves, make us the *literal* imitators of every thing, even of dress, furniture, etc., which existed in the apostolic ages.

Look at the case of Iceland during that year in which the island remained, for the whole summer, inclosed in the floating ice that had been driven there from the polar sea, and no access from abroad to the island was possible, nor any egress from it. Might not the inhabitants of the island, reduced to live upon fish and water, have celebrated the Lord's Supper acceptably upon these elements? Would it not have been as monitory and significant to them as bread and wine, and as acceptable to him who instituted the feast? The man who doubts this, must believe in the mysterious and miraculous virtue of the sacrament as an *opus operatum*.

With such an one it is not my present purpose to contend. Christians, as I must think, have reason to bless God, that principles such as that man cherishes, are fast vanishing away before the spreading light of the Sun of Righteousness.

Let us return to the rite of baptism. What is it that it signifies? *Purification* is the answer; and this is the only scriptural and consistent answer that we can give. So Paul seems to teach us: “Christ loved the church, and gave himself for it, that he might sanctify and cleanse it with the washing of water [baptism] by the word; that he might present it to himself a glorious church, not having spot, or wrinkle, or any such thing, but that it should be holy and without blemish;” Eph. 5 : 25-27. “According to his mercy he saved us, by the washing of regeneration and renewing of the Holy Ghost,” i. e., we are saved by that regeneration or sanctifying influence of the Spirit of God, of which the washing with water is an emblem or symbol; for evidently the language of Paul is borrowed from this. So again in Heb. 10 : 22, “Let us draw near [to God] with a true heart, in full assurance of faith, having our hearts sprinkled from an evil conscience, and our bodies washed with pure water;” where again the symbol, i. e., the washing of the body with pure water, is joined with the thing signified by it, viz., the having the heart sprinkled, purified, from an evil conscience.

In accordance with all this, Peter likewise expresses himself: “The like figure whereunto, baptism, doth now save us; not the putting off the filth of the flesh [not the mere outward cleansing by baptismal water],

but the answer of a good conscience toward God," i. e., our being purified so that we live with a good conscience, or (as Paul expresses it) "sprinkled from an evil conscience;" 1 Pet. 3 : 21.

The Saviour himself has uttered the like sentiment: "Except a man be born of water and of the Spirit, he cannot enter into the kingdom of God," John 3 : 5; i. e., he must not only be purified by baptismal water, but he must be sanctified, regenerated, by the Spirit of God.

In all these and the like cases, it is perfectly clear that baptism is considered as the symbol of purification or sanctification. It is an emblem of that holiness and purity of life which the Christian engages to exhibit, and which the gospel requires; it is significant of that sanctifying influence of the Spirit of God, which a Saviour's death has procured, and without which all must perish in their pollution.

Even in those controverted passages in Rom. 6 : 4, 5, and Col. 2 : 12, baptism is connected with the work of the Spirit, and is significant of his influence. It is a dying to sin and being raised to a new spiritual life, which is prefigured by it. How greatly this has been overlooked, and how much the import of baptism has been estimated amiss, both in ancient and modern times, in consequence of overlooking the plain and obvious import of the baptismal rite, no one needs to be told who has extensively examined this subject.

Why should baptism be made symbolical of the *death* of Christ? All Jewish analogy is against it. What were all the ablutions and sprinklings of the rit-

ual law designed to prefigure and to signify? Most obviously we must answer, *purification*. The Jew who washed his body, or sprinkled it with holy water, was taught by this the necessity that his soul should also be made clean, in order that he might be an acceptable worshipper of that God who is a Spirit, and seeks for spiritual worshippers. How could any thing but his ignorance or superstition overlook this? Yet many a Jew did overlook it, and trusted, as multitudes now do, to the virtue of the external ordinance, to the *opus operatum*, to save him. But neither "the blood of goats nor bullocks, nor the ashes of a heifer sprinkling the unclean," could do any more of themselves than "purify the flesh;" they were the mere emblems of a higher and spiritual purification.

So it is with baptism. How could an intelligent and spiritually-minded Jew ever have regarded this rite as designed to prefigure the death and burial of Christ, when there was not a single thing that bore any analogy to this, in all the ablutions prescribed by the ritual law; nothing even in all those prescribed by the superstition of the Pharisees? The thing is in itself altogether improbable. It is doubly so, when we take into consideration those passages of the sacred writers which I have quoted above, and which show the views of Christ and of the apostles, as to the symbolical meaning of baptism.

Under the ancient dispensation, the rites were divided into two great classes, viz., *those significant of purity or purification*, and *those significant of atonement for sin*. Nothing could be more appropriate than this.

Man needed the one and the other in order to find acceptance with God ; the one is the work of the Spirit, and the other of the Saviour who redeemed us by his blood. Is there, then, any change in the *essential* conditions of salvation under the new dispensation ? None, we must answer. Are not the significant symbols, then, under the new dispensation, a summary of those which existed under the old ? The belief of this spontaneously forces itself upon my mind. The work of the Spirit is still symbolized under the gospel ; and a Saviour's blood is still represented. The one baptism signifies ; the other is as plainly indicated by the Lord's Supper.

Whither must we be carried, if we dissent from this view of the subject, and maintain, with many of the Christian fathers, and not a few of our brethren of the present day, that baptism is a symbol of the death and burial of Christ ? All analogy is against it ; for thus the ancient dispensation was not arranged. The nature of the thing itself is against it. Water, as exhibited in washing, sprinkling, etc., is never an emblem of death and the grave ; it is only the image of overwhelming floods, or of mighty rushing streams, that is appropriate to signify the work of destruction. But both of these are foreign to the rite of baptism.

Finally, the explanation of the apostles and of Jesus himself, is clearly in favour of connecting baptism, as a *symbol*, with the sanctifying influences of the Spirit of God. The texts produced above, and which are so plainly to this purpose, will not be overlooked by a candid and intelligent inquirer.

How can so much stress be laid, then, upon Rom. 6 : 4, 5, and Col. 2 : 12, as ascertaining the ancient *mode* of baptism? Where else in all the Bible is a ritual washing with water an emblem of death and burial? Nowhere; and I venture, therefore, to say, that it is only *moral* or *spiritual* baptism into the death of Christ, of which the apostle speaks in these two passages. I know well, that an appeal against this opinion can be made to many of the fathers. But I know, too, that by the like appeal I may prove, equally well, that baptism must be performed on naked subjects; and moreover, that it is regeneration and spiritual illumination, and is necessary to our final salvation. And if the appeal be also made against my opinion, as doubtless it will be, to the sentiments of the great body of modern critics respecting Rom. 6 : 4, 5, and Col. 2 : 12, I must still say, that they appear to me not to have sufficiently investigated the two-fold division of the external ritual under the ancient dispensation and under the Christian one, viz., into *rites emblematic of purity*, and *rites emblematic of atonement for sin*. Where is the first of these, if baptism is merely a type or emblem of the *death of Christ*? Have we, then, two rites under the new dispensation, and both significant of only one and the same thing, viz., the death of Jesus? Is this probable? Is it credible? Can we believe it to be so, without the most explicit testimony?

Yet the nature of the thing itself, and all the scriptural testimony concerning it, indicate that the rites of the new dispensation have an essential correspondence

with those of the ancient one. I must regard this as being real matter of fact, until I see the whole subject in a light very different from that in which I now view it.

Once more, then, directly to our point. Is it essential, in order that baptism should symbolize *purification* or *purity*, that it should be performed by *immersion*? Plainly not; for in ancient times it was the water which was *sprinkled* upon the offending Jew, that was the grand emblem of purification. So Paul considers it, when he gives us, as it were, a summary of the whole ritual of purification, by specifying the most significant of all its usages, viz., that of the ashes of a heifer mixed with water (Num. 19 : 17), with which "the unclean are *sprinkled*," Heb. 9 : 13. So, too, he decides, when he speaks of "drawing near to God, in the full assurance of faith, having our hearts *sprinkled* from an evil conscience," Heb. 10 : 22. So also, even when atonement was made; for although sometimes the blood was poured out at the basis of the altar, and sometimes smeared on its horns, and on parts of the person for whom expiation was to be made, yet the grand significant emblem was that of *sprinkling*. On the great day of atonement, the high-priest entered the most holy place, and sprinkled the ark of the covenant with blood; Lev. 4 : 17; Heb. 9 : 25. Hence Paul speaks of the blood of Jesus, as "the blood of *sprinkling*, which speaketh better things than the blood of Abel;" i. e., Jesus' blood calls for pardon, but Abel's for vengeance, Heb. 12 : 24. Peter also adopts the same image, so significant to the mind of a Jew: "Elect . . .

unto obedience, through sanctification of the Spirit, and *sprinkling* of the blood of Jesus," 1 Pet. 1 : 2.

Nor was this all. When the whole nation were consecrated to God, at Mount Sinai, they, and the book of the Law, and the tabernacle, and all the vessels of the ministry, were *sprinkled* with blood, Heb. 9 : 19—21.

It is, then, a perfectly clear case, that the *sprinkling* of water or of blood, was altogether the most significant mode of purification, or of atonement, or of consecration to God, under the ancient dispensation. And so the prophet Ezekiel speaks of water to be *sprinkled*, under the new dispensation. After describing the gathering in of all the Jews into the kingdom of Christ, he represents Jehovah as saying, "Then will I *sprinkle* clean water upon you, and ye shall be clean ; from all your filthiness and from all your idols will I cleanse you. A new heart also will I give you," etc. Ezek. 36 : 25, 26.

Is there no significance, then, in that mode of a rite, which, above all others, is spoken of in the Old Testament and the New, as the emblem of purification and atonement and consecration ? Could Jews, who thus spoke and wrote about the application of water and blood by *sprinkling*, find in sprinkling no due significance of purification ? The question answers itself, after the considerations which have already been suggested.

In performing the rite of baptism, then, what are we to aim at ? The shadow, or the substance ? The *substance*, enlightened Christians should say. But is not

the substance the symbolizing of purity or purification? This, I hope, will not be denied. If, then, water be applied in any such way as to make the symbol or emblem significant or expressive, and highly so, then is the main purpose of the rite answered. We have decided this to be the case, in respect to the Lord's Supper; why, then, should we be inconsistent with ourselves, and deny it here?

After the examples which have been adduced of the *significancy of sprinkling*, both from the Old Testament and the New, I would hope that none of my readers will be dissatisfied, if I consider this significancy as a point made out. And now—what remains? Must I show that we are not at liberty, without being justly exposed to the accusation of gross departure from Christianity, to depart from the *modes* and *forms* of the apostolic church in any respect? I have shown that all the churches on earth do depart from these, in their celebration of the Lord's Supper, and yet without any apprehension of being guilty of an impropriety, much less of being justly chargeable with the spirit of disobedience and revolt. I could easily extend this part of my view to many other particulars. I ask those who plead for literal conformity in mode to the ancient rite of baptism, how they dispose of the ordinance respecting the disciples' washing each others' feet, described at large in John, c. xiii, and particularly enjoined in vs. 14, 15? Who has repealed the obligation to a literal conformity with this command? You will say, It is the *spirit*, rather than the letter, which is here inculcated. I accede. But what is the case in respect

to baptism? Will nothing but the *letter* do here? So you may think and reason; but are you not entirely inconsistent with yourself?

Why do we not feel bound at the present day to follow the prescriptions of Paul to the Corinthian churches, in c. xi. of his first epistle to them? In this chapter, women are directed to appear in public veiled; to wear their hair long; and men to wear theirs short; vs. 10—15. Is this matter of obligation now to us? Who believes and practices it? No churches on earth, unless their *civil* customs lead them so to do. But when and where were the precepts of Paul repealed? *Never and no where*, if I must answer in the spirit of those who urge the literal meaning of  $\beta\alpha\pi\tau\iota\zeta\omega$  upon the churches; *always and every where*, I may answer in another spirit and with other views, whenever and wherever external customs and circumstances differ from those of the Corinthian churches. Mere *externals* must be things of particular *time and place*. Dress does not make the man. One dress may be more convenient, or more decorous than another; but neither the one nor the other is an essential part of the person.

So the common feeling of men has decided about most of the external matters pertaining to religion, the world over. They have always been modified by time and place, by manners and customs, and they always will be. The zealot may declaim against this, and cry out that the church is in danger, and that she has departed from the commands of the gospel; but considerate and really spiritual men will reply, that “God is a Spirit, and that he seeks spiritual worshippers.”

Accordingly, long before the light of the Reformation began to dawn upon the churches, the Roman Catholics themselves were gradually adopting the method of baptism by *sprinkling* or *affusion*, notwithstanding their superstitious and excessive devotedness to the usages of the ancient churches. So testifies one of the most intelligent and useful ecclesiastical writers of the earlier part of the dark ages; I mean Walafried Strabo (ob. 849), abbot of the convent of St. Gall. His words run thus: “It should be noted, that many have been baptized, not only by immersion, but by *affusion* (*non solum mergendo, verum etiam de super fundendo*), and they may yet be baptized in this manner, if there be any necessity for it; as, in the passion of St. Lawrence, we read of a certain person baptized by water brought in a pitcher (*urceo allato*);” *De Rebus Eccles.* c. 26. So Thomas Aquinas (fl. 1250) in *Summa Theol.* III. Ques. 66. Art. 7, says: “It is safer to baptize by the mode of immersion, because this has common usage in its favour.” But these very words show that a different usage was coming in, and that Aquinas did not look upon it with any strong disapprobation. In the *Statut. Synod. Leodiens.* anno 1287, c. 2, the mode of baptism is prescribed, and it is there said, “That danger in baptizing may be avoided; let not the head of the child be immersed in water, but let the priest pour water three times upon the head of the child, with a basin, or some other clean and decent vessel, still holding the child carefully with his hand.” The Synod at Cambray (*Stat. Synod. Eccl. Camerac.* an. 1300, de Bapt.) say: “That danger in baptizing may be avoided,

let not [the priest] immerse the head of the child in the water, but, when he baptizes, let him pour water thrice upon the top of his head, with a basin or other clean and decent vessel." And in the same way run other decrees of councils about this time; while some are even still more liberal, permitting baptism to be performed either by immersion, affusion, or sprinkling.

All this serves to illustrate how there sprung up, in the bosom of a church superstitiously devoted to ancient rites and forms, a conviction that the mode of baptism was one of the *ἀδιάφορα* of religion, i. e., something unessential to the rite itself, and which might be modified by time and place, without any encroachment upon the command itself to baptize. Gradually did this conviction increase, until the whole Roman Catholic church, that of Milan only excepted, admitted it. By far the greater part of the Protestant world have also acceded to the same views. Even the English Episcopal church, and the Lutheran churches, both zealous in times past for what they supposed to be apostolic and really ancient usage, have had no serious difficulty in adopting modes of baptism quite different from that of immersion.

To these evidences that departure from the method of baptism by immersion is not a novel thing, I may add some accidental testimony of a very interesting nature, taken from a late work of F. Münter, bishop of Zealand, and Professor of Theology in the University of Copenhagen, entitled, *Sinnbilder und Kunstvorstellungen der alten Christen*. Dr. Münter, who has recently deceased, is regarded in Europe as having been

one of its ablest and most judicious antiquarians. Certain it is, that the churches are greatly indebted to him for many illustrations of ancient facts and customs. In the second part of the work whose title is quoted above, under the head of *baptism*, he has exhibited several pictures or representations, taken mostly from cemeteries and catacombs, some of which deserve particular notice.

The first which I shall mention is exhibited in Plate X. fig. 59. It represents Jesus as standing in the Jordan, immersed as high as the waist, and John the Baptist as standing on the shore, holding a reed-staff in his left hand, while his right is laid upon the head of the Saviour, and he is making invocation for a blessing. On the opposite shore of the river stands an angel, with a basin in his hand, and a towel for the purpose (as it would seem) of wiping off the water. For what purpose this basin can be represented in the picture, unless it be for that of pouring water on the head of Jesus when he was baptized, I am unable to divine. The picture Münter assigns to the early part of the middle ages.

In confirmation of the above explanation, I may refer to a picture presented by Bosio, in his *Roma Sotteranea*, 1632, p. 589. The Baptist stands, as in the representation above, with his clothes on, upon the brink of Jordan; and Jesus stands in the river, immersed to the waist. In the hand of John is a basin, on which fire is represented as flowing down from heaven, while Jesus is affused with the water which descends from the basin.

In Plate XII., figs. 85 and 86, are two more representations of the rite of baptism. In fig. 85 are two children, who apparently have attained less than half their growth, standing in a vase of water which falls a little below the waist, and in which it would be impossible to immerse them, on account of the small size of the vase. The bishop who baptizes is represented as having completed the act, and is presented in the attitude of invoking the divine blessing, while he lays his right hand upon the head of one of the children. This picture Münter supposes to be of earlier date than the 10th century. Fig. 86 is taken from Schöne's *Geschichtforschungen iiber die kirchl. Gebräuche und Einrichtungen der Christen*, and was copied by him from a roughly-hewn stone at Aquileia. The person baptized stands, as above, in a vase which falls below the knee, while the water is represented as streaming from a cloud above, and the Holy Spirit is descending in the shape of a dove. The bishop stands by, and, with his right hand stretched out, is invoking a blessing.

Dr. Münter mentions also two other pictures, which are presented in J. Ciampini's *Explicatio duorum Sarcophagorum sacrum baptismatis ritum indicantium*, Rom. 1697. In one of these, a man and woman are represented as kneeling in a large baptismal basin, while the priest pours water on the head of the man from an urn or pitcher. Ciampini thinks that this is a representation of the baptism of Agilulf and his wife, Theodolinde, king and queen of the Lombards, in A. D. 591. The second picture represents a man kneeling with folded hands, half divested of his clothing, on whose

head the priest pours water from a pitcher. Both of these pictures are taken from *sacophagi*, dug up in the vicinity of Naples. Ciampini attributes them to the sixth century; but Münter judges them to be of a later age.

It may naturally be asked, Why pictures of an earlier date than any of these, have not been found in cemeteries and catacombs, and in the ruins of ancient cities? The answer is, that the earlier churches never painted, or otherwise represented by images, the sacred *mysteries* of baptism and the Lord's Supper; for such they deemed them to be. Such, in fact, they continued to be, in their estimation, until the German nations that came in upon Rome began to be baptized by thousands; and then, of course, the rite of baptism could no longer be regarded as secret. From this time, such representations of this rite began to be made in various ways, as have been described above.

It will be seen from all this, that Christians began somewhat early to deflect from the ancient practice of immersing. It is remarkable, moreover, that so far as I have yet been able to discover, there is not one of the ancient pictures which represents baptism as performed by *immersion*. How could this happen, if immersion was so general, or rather so universal, in the middle ages, as it has often been affirmed to be? But I must return from these historical notices to the argument which I am endeavouring to urge.

From all that has been said above, it is manifest that the great body of Christians have long come to the full conviction, that no one particular mode of baptism can

be justly considered as essential to the rite itself. And is there not sufficient ground for this in the considerations that have already been urged? The question, whether a religion preëminently spiritual, simple, and designed to be universal, would probably attach importance to the mere mode of an external rite, is one which every enlightened mind may answer, I had almost said, *à priori*. The probability is at once felt to be strongly against it, so soon as any one has thrown off all attachment to *opus operatum*, i. e., to the mystical power and merit of external ceremonies. Under the gospel, sanctification and purity are not so cheap, nor to be had on such easy terms, as the performance of outward rites. Every thing which teaches what is opposed to this sentiment, directly or indirectly, contradicts the spirit of the gospel; for this demands of us, as a thing fundamental and essential, that we should be "poor in *spirit*," and "take up the cross" by real and internal self-denial, not with mere outward show and ceremony.

The whole may be summed up in one single point. Either the rite of baptism has a mystical power of itself to sanctify, which depends on the mode of its administration, and its merit as an *opus operatum*; or it is a symbolical rite, significant of truth, i. e., of doctrine, or fact. A mystical power one cannot believe in, because millions of baptized persons have already gone to perdition; over these, therefore, baptism never did exercise any mystical and saving influence. But even if we should admit the existence of such a power, can it be shown that it is exclusively connected with

immersion only? Have the sanctifying influences of the Spirit of God been limited to that part of the Christian church exclusively who practice immersion? So far from this, that the most vicious and ignorant of all who bear the name of Christians, are the most numerous and zealous of all the advocates of immersion. I refer, in this declaration, to the Oriental church, which has a name to live while it is *twice dead*, and ought to be plucked up by the roots. If there are exceptions to my general remark (as there certainly are, and most eminent ones, too, among the Baptists of England and America), it remains to be shown that immersion has any thing of consequence to do with their evangelical character. The Baptists of the English and American world, evangelical and devoted to religion as many of them truly are, do not surpass in piety, as I must believe, many of their brethren in Christ who differ from them in respect to the mode of baptism.

We come, then, of necessity to the conclusion, that the *moral good* to be expected from baptism, is to be derived from the moral or spiritual instruction which it conveys, and from the lively manner in which it impresses this, and the obligation under which it lays those who are concerned with the rite. All the rest appears to be mere dreaming Pharisaism; here is substantial reality. But may not this instruction be conveyed as well by *affusion* or *sprinkling*, as by immersion? If we look to the ancient dispensation, we must say, Yes. If we look at the nature of the thing itself, we must answer in the affirmative. If we appeal to the general conviction of the Christian world, which

has decided against patristic and ancient usage, we must give the same answer. Water applied in this way or in that, is water still, i. e., a cleansing and purifying element. Its significance is not at all lost, or even obscured. In the East, where bathing is so common, and where religious rites especially have required ablution, it may be more significant, in some cases, to immerse; but in the west and north, where such rites have long ceased (if indeed they were ever practiced), immersion can have no more significancy than affusion or sprinkling. Why then insist on it? Or if you are conscience-bound by your own views of the rite, why judge your brother who is not, and thinks that Christianity was never designed to become a religion of rituals?

In fine, aspersion or affusion of water exhibits, and fully exhibits, the essence of the thing, i. e., the instruction and symbol, aimed at by the rite of baptism. Why then should we be zealous about any thing more than this? Such strenuousness, I am most fully persuaded, is a zeal without a proper degree of Christian knowledge and liberality on this point. It is a zeal for the *costume* of religion, rather than the true spirit of it. So far as it goes, I must believe it to be really and truly sectarianism.

On the other hand, to maintain that sprinkling or affusion is the only mode of baptism, or the only proper mode, seems to me to partake of the like sectarian spirit. The great body of Christians have long ceased to think that any thing of importance, in a religious respect, is exclusively attached to either of these

modes. It is my earnest hope, that the superstitious views of the Christian fathers, in respect to the mode of baptism, may never again mislead the churches, or interrupt their harmony.

3. I have one more suggestion to make in respect to the *mode* of baptism. This is, that personal safety and convenience often demand that immersion should be dispensed with; and therefore, at least, it cannot well be supposed that it is in all cases necessary.

So thought the ancient church, even when they attached a very undue degree of importance to the rite itself, and regarded it, for the most part, as indispensable to salvation. I cannot forbear an appeal to Cyprian, bishop of Carthage, (fl. A. D. 240,) a warm-hearted Christian and a martyr to his religion. When the question was put to him, whether *clinical* baptism, i. e., baptism by affusion on a sick-bed, was valid, he answered thus:

“ You ask of me, my dear Son, what I think respecting those who have become subjects of divine grace in a state of languor and sickness; viz., whether they are to be regarded as lawful Christians, when they have not been bathed with saving water [immersed by baptism], but *perfusi, bedewed, affused*. In regard to this, let not our diffidence and modesty hinder any one to think according to his own opinion, and practice as he thinks. So far as my own humble opinion goes, I think the divine benefits [of the ordinance] are in no degree diminished or cut short [by any mode], nor that any thing of the divine bounty is at all diminished, where it [the ordinance] is received by the full faith of

him who receives and him who administers it. Nor do I think that the contagion of sin is washed away by this salutary ordinance (as the filth of the skin and body is by corporeal and secular bathing), so that there is any need of soap and other means, [or] of a bathing-tub and pool in which the body can be washed and cleansed. The [physical] breast of a believer is cleansed in one way ; the mind [or soul] of man in another way, by the deserts of faith. In sacred rites performed as necessity dictates, through divine mercy, divine favor is bestowed on those who sincerely believe. *Nor should any be troubled, because sick persons are SPRINKLED or AFFUSED, since they obtain the favor of God* ; for the Holy Spirit says by Ezekiel the prophet: 'Then will I sprinkle clean water upon you,' &c. [Ezek. 26 : 25.] So in the book of Numbers: 'The man who shall be unclean . . . because the water of sprinkling is not sprinkled upon him.' And again: 'The Lord said, the water of purification.' And again: 'The water of sprinkling is purification.' [Num. 19 : 19, 20 ; 8 : 7 ; 19 : 12, 13.] Hence it appears, that *SPRINKLING is of like value with the salutary bath* (aqua<sup>e</sup> instar salutaris lavacri obtinere); and when these things are done in the church, where the faith is sound of the giver and receiver, *all is valid* (omnia stare), and may be completed and effected agreeably to the authority of the Lord and the truth of faith (majestate Domini et fidei veritate)." Eph. 69 or 76.

Here then *sprinkling*, so early as the former half of the third century, is pronounced to be legitimate and valid, by one of the noblest men among all the Chris-

tian fathers. The appeal which he makes to the Old Testament, in order to show in what light this may be considered, is altogether apposite. I have shown above, what significance this mode of applying either water or blood had, in the view of the sacred writers. I need only to add, that this noble and liberal decision of Cyprian was confirmed and proclaimed by several ecclesiastical councils, not long afterwards.

That the ancient church habitually permitted departure from the ordinary method of baptism, in case of extreme sickness or danger, has been already remarked. The principle developed by this permission, so ably set forth by Cyprian, is what I design still further to illustrate, under my present head.

The cases of extreme sickness and imminent danger are not the only ones, in which reasonable consideration pleads for dispensing with immersion. In the midst of the dark ages, at the very midnight of superstition about rites and forms, Duns Scotus, the celebrated metaphysical theologian (fl. 1260), saw and felt this.

“A minister,” says he, “may be excused from *trine immersion*; for example, in case a minister should be feeble as to strength, *et sit unus magnus rusticus*, and *there should be a huge country fellow to be baptized*, whom he could neither plunge in nor lift out;” Comm. in IV. Sentent. Dist. 3, Ques. 4.

The quaintness of the illustration does not diminish aught from its power, in respect to the principle which was to be explained. The like to this must often occur; especially if the most ancient practice of repairing to rivers and pools continue to be maintained.

Persons often need to be baptized, when access to water abroad is difficult, dangerous, or impossible. The infirm health of the officiating minister forbids the exposure of himself in this way; the feeble state of the person to be baptized forbids it; or the winter season forbids it. In all the northern and southern parts of the globe, reasons of climate must be urgent against the practice of immersion in rivers and pools, for some nine months in the year. On the sick bed, and *in extremis*, there are a multitude of cases in which it would cost life. Do you say: Then let baptism be dispensed with? So would I answer, although on a ground very different, perhaps, from yours. My answer would rest on the ground, that no external ordinance is obligatory, when it becomes dangerous to life or health. The great Lord of the Sabbath admits works of necessity and mercy, i. e. such services as are necessary to life and comfort, to be done on his holy day. He has said that *the Sabbath was made for man*. So was baptism. It was not instituted to injure, destroy, or even hazard life. In a case of distressing sickness and urgent danger, we may say in respect to this rite or any other external one, *Voluisse est habuisse*, i. e., to desire it, is accepted in lieu of its being administered. So would I answer in all cases of the like nature; but you, who plead as earnestly for the rite of *immersion*, as the Roman Catholics do for baptism by the hands of one of their own priests, you would say, that baptism must be dispensed with in the case named of imminent danger or extreme sickness, because the proper *mode* of it has become impracticable. With this reason I

have no sympathy. While I believe that the Gospel represents God as a *Spirit*, and as requiring *spiritual* worship; and that these two truths lie at the very foundation of all religious service whatever; I never can believe that *the mode* of a rite merely external, can be *essential* in any degree. I cannot submit to such a yoke of bondage, when the liberty of the Gospel is proffered.

But you will tell me, that all the difficulties in respect to baptism abroad, in rivers and pools, can be avoided by the building of a *baptistery*, such as the ancient churches had; where the hazard even of cold water becomes unnecessary, and the feeble may be accommodated with baths adapted in temperature to their state and condition.

I cannot admit, however, the sufficiency or consistency of your reply, on the grounds which you yourself maintain. For, in the first place, this practice of building *baptisteries* is well known to be an innovation upon the more ancient usage of the church. In the time of Justin Martyr there were no such accommodations as these. They went out from the churches, i. e., the places where they met, to rivers and pools, as he tells us, in order to perform the rite. Who gave liberty, then, to build baptisteries? In what part of the New Testament do we find any thing concerning them? What right have you now to depart from apostolic usage? You administer rebuke to me, because I do not *immerse*; and this, on account of the *literal* obedience which (as you aver) is due to the command to baptize all nations. Nothing, then, but literally doing

as Christ and the apostles did, when they practiced the rite in question, can be literal obedience. But where were the baptisteries in their days? May I not charge you now, in my turn, with a departure from the simplicity and significance of baptism in pure and living, or running water, as the rite was performed in the days of the apostles? On the ground which I occupy, this charge amounts to an accusation of no very grievous nature; on yours, it must be placed under the same category with your accusation against me, i. e., it must be considered as a grievous departure from the command of Christ. There is no avoiding this conclusion.

I go farther with this argument. If you take your stand on the ancient practice of the churches in the days of the early Christian Fathers, and charge we with departure from this; in my turn I have the like charge to make against you. It is notorious, and admits of no contradiction, that baptism in those days of immersion, was administered to men, women, and children, *in puris naturalibus*, naked as Adam and Eve before their fall. The most tender, delicate, and modest females, young or old, could obtain no exception, where immersion must be practiced. This practice was pleaded for and insisted upon, because it was thought to be apostolic. At all events, it began very early in the Christian Church.

No wonder now that Athanasius complained, that in his times there were “scandalous occurrences in the baptistery.” To tell the story of the ancient mode of baptism, is enough to satisfy any one that his allegations must be well founded. In vain did the churches

seek to avoid the reproach of this scandalous practice, by building a separate baptistery for females, or by baptizing them separately. Priests, and priests only, in any common case, could administer the rite. The scandal of the thing still remained. Yea, it increased to such a degree, that the churches were at length forced into a proper sense of decency; and thus they burst asunder the bands of superstition.

You reject this usage, because you believe it to be an indecorum. But on the ground which you take, this is not a sufficient reason. *Literal* conformity to the usage of the ancient churches is the only thing which should satisfy a conscience like yours.

But you say, "There is no evidence that the primitive mode of baptism required persons to be divested of all their garments." I grant it; but still, there is the same kind of evidence as proves to you that immersion was the only apostolic mode of baptism, viz., the universal usage of the ancient churches. Your main reason for believing that  $\betaαπτίζω$  means immersion, must depend, after all, on the exegesis of the fathers and the ancient churches. New Testament usage of the word, in cases not relevant to this rite, clearly does not entitle you to such a conclusion with any confidence. If you say, "The classical use of the word abundantly justifies the construction I put upon it," my reply is, that classical usage can never be very certain in respect to the meaning of the word in the New Testament. Who does not know that a multitude of Greek words here receive their colouring and particular meanings from the Hebrew, and not from the Greek

classics? Do *θεός*, *οὐρανός*, *σάρξ*, *πίστις*, *δικαιοσύνη*, and other words almost without number, exhibit meanings which conform to the Greek classics; or which, in several respects, can even be illustrated by them? Not at all. Then, how can you be over confident in the application of the classical meaning of *βαπτίζω*, when the word is employed in relation to a rite that is purely Christian? Such a confidence is indeed common; but it is not the more rational, nor the more becoming, on this account.

After all, then, you depend for the exegesis of *βαπτίζω*, as meaning *to immerse*, mainly on the practice and the views of the early churches. If this be authoritative, then why not be consistent, and carry it through? We have seen that Cyril could even exult in the practice of divesting the candidates for baptism of all their garments, since he viewed all this as a significant rite. Why not follow the good father in this, as well as in immersion?

But why stop even here? Can it not be shown that the ancient churches practiced *unction*, both before and after baptism; and that the sign of the cross was a part of the ceremonial; that imposition of hands immediately succeeded it; and that various other ceremonies were sometimes practiced? It can; and if usages such as these become authoritative, because the ancient church practiced them, then the Romish Church is nearest to Christian duty, who retains most of these usages. On the like ground, the whole apparatus of ancient superstition might be brought in upon the churches of the present day. When we once admit that

all of an external nature which the ancient churches practiced, is binding upon us, there is no end of rites and forms, and worthless ceremonies, which serve only to delude the multitude, and to deform a religion which in its very nature is truly spiritual.

*Sed—manum de tabula.* I have written enough to explain my own views and the grounds of them, if not enough to satisfy the minds of others. I have not engaged in this exposition with a willing mind, inasmuch as I almost deem it a loss of time to spend so much of it as this investigation has cost me, on a subject that so nearly approaches to a discussion of rites and forms. But I have been compelled, as it were, to this service. For some years past, I have received letters every few weeks, urging me to answer questions relative to the mode of the baptismal rite, and other things connected with it. The tenor of the two letters standing at the head of this article, is a specimen of them. I must beg my friends, one and all, to consider me as having now done with the subject, and intending to write no more upon it, unless indeed a new and pressing exigency shall occur, that I cannot at all anticipate. No efforts will draw me into a controversy. I have abstained, as the reader will perceive, from all criticisms on controversial books, and all polemical attitudes in respect to them. I have expressed, freely and fully, my own views. My Baptist friends will not be displeased at this; for they, most of all, have urged me to do so. If my sentiments go to show that I believe them to be in an error, in regard to their zeal about immersion, they show no more than what is matter of fact. I do believe

that this is the *sectarianism* of their denomination ; and, moreover, that it does not accord well, in this particular, with the elevated and spiritual views which, at such a time of light as the present, ought to be cherished.

I have read with attention, since writing most of the above essay, a recent publication by the Rev. A. Carson, of Edinburgh, whose zeal is overflowing on this subject. I have found in it many useful and striking remarks on the classical use of  $\beta\acute{\alpha}\pi\tau\omega$  and  $\beta\alpha\pi\tau\iota\zeta\omega$ , and the distinction made between them by classical usage. Already, however, had I anticipated most of this, by my own researches ; and now I see no occasion to change what I had before written. I have taken some five or six examples of the use of  $\beta\acute{\alpha}\pi\tau\omega$  and  $\beta\alpha\pi\tau\iota\zeta\omega$  from Mr. C., in reviewing my work for the press ; but I have not once attempted to controvert him.

Mr. Carson lays down some very adventurous positions, in respect to one meaning, and *one only*, of words ; which, as it seems to me, every lexicon on earth contradicts, and always must contradict. His book is not destitute of evidence that he has learning and acuteness. He sometimes professes much liberal feeling. But withal he has so many adventurous philological positions ; he occasionally makes such high and exclusive claims to *pure Christianity*, on the ground of an external rite ; he sometimes utters such anathemas against his opponents ; and, joined with this, his book is often filled with so much levity, and so many attempts at witticism and sarcasm, that I am spontaneously led to ask, What can be the tendency of such discussion, except to break asunder the bands of brotherhood ?

If he rightly represents his opponents, it must be admitted that he was at least led into temptation. That Dr. Ewing should gravely proffer to the public, the word *pop* as a translation of  $\betaαπτίζω$ , might tempt to sarcasm a graver man than Mr. Carson. But what is to become of charity, kind feeling, and truth, in the midst of such controversy as this?

But it is no part of my object to write reviews, or make strictures upon the performances of other. Those who seek to promote kind and brotherly feeling, rather than to obtain victories in a dispute, will be grieved at reading any thing of this nature, come from whom it may, or however it may be recommended by learning or acuteness.

For myself, I have not the least difficulty with any man or men, who prefer immersion to other methods of baptism. I never can contend with any one about this, except so far as to vindicate myself for not believing in the necessity of this mode. This I have now done—I would hope, not in a sectarian way. If I have felt obliged to speak freely, on the point of sectarian feeling, my brethren will forgive this, who have urged upon me fully to declare myself. I do not love them any the less, because they are Baptists; and I would hope they will permit me still to believe in other modes of baptism than immersion, without regarding me, on their part, as guilty of so great a crime as Mr. Carson charges on his opponents.

On the subject of *infant-baptism* I have said nothing. The present occasion did not call for it; and I have no

wish or intention to enter into the controversy respecting it. I have only to say, that I believe in both the propriety and expediency of the rite thus administered; and therefore accede to it *ex animo*. Commands, or plain and certain examples, in the New Testament relative to it, I do not find. Nor, with my views of it, do I need them. If the subject had respect to what is *fundamental* or *essential* in Christianity, then I must find either the one or the other, in order to justify adopting or practicing it. But as the case now is, and the rite itself is but an external rite; the general analogy of the ancient dispensation; the *enlargement* of privilege under the Gospel; the silence of the New Testament on the subject of receiving children into a special relation to the church by the baptismal rite, which shows, at least, that there was no dispute in early ages relative to this matter; the certainty that in Tertullian's day the practice was general; all these considerations put together—united with the conviction that baptism is *symbol* and *dedication*, and may be so in the case of infants as well as adults; and that it brings parents and children into a peculiar relation to the church and under peculiarly recognized obligation—serve to satisfy me fully, that the practice may be, and should be, continued. My friends will be contented, I would hope, with this avowal, without an effort to draw me into dispute. It is my full purpose not to dispute on this point. The sentiments of the Baptists, in relation to this subject, are no obstacle to my kind feelings towards them. If their views are erroneous, still they are much better than the views of

those who practice this rite promiscuously, without any regard to the character of those who offer their children in baptism.

I have only to add, that it is my earnest hope and prayer, that the time may speedily come, when all who love the Lord Jesus shall cease to dispute about rites and forms, and shall believe that they have "one Lord, one faith, and *one baptism*," although the external mode of this latter ordinance may not be the same in all the churches. Why should there be any more jealousy on this subject, than there is in respect to the various modes and forms of administering and partaking of the Lord's Supper?

My correspondents whose letters I have printed at the commencement of this discussion, will at least feel themselves entitled to a word in particular. This I may add, without occupying much time.

My missionary Brethren will now perceive, that my opinion must of course be, in accordance with the principles above developed, that they should render the Greek *βαπτίζω* in the same way as our English version and the Vulgate have done, viz., by retaining the word *βαπτίζω* and merely giving it a form that will render it analogous to other verbs in the language to which it is transferred. In doing this, they are still at full liberty to explain to their hearers the meaning of the word, according to the views of it which they entertain; while, at the same time, they free themselves from the charge of having made a sectarian translation.

In regard to the third question they put, which re-

spects the words in Acts 19 : 5, I can hardly refrain from expressing my astonishment, that a doubt should ever have arisen, whether these are the words of Paul, or of Luke the historian. Yet no less a critic than Beza not only suggests this, but vehemently and confidently maintains that they are the words of Paul. His arguments are the following:—

1. That *δέ* in v. 5 corresponds to *μέν* in v. 4, and that both these verses must of necessity belong to the words of Paul, for they must be corresponding parts of one and same sentence or declaration. The answer to this is: (1) That *μέν* on which Beza places so much reliance, is a reading of a suspicious character, and is so marked by Knapp in his New Testament. (2) *Μέν* is often used absolutely, i. e., alone, or without any *δέ* following it, in an apodosis; e. g. Acts 1 : 1; Col. 2 : 23; Rom. 1 : 8; Heb. 12 : 9; Rom. 3 : 2; 1 Cor. 11 : 18; Rom. 11 : 13; 2 Cor. 12 : 12; 1 Thess. 2 : 18; Acts 26 : 9; Rom. 7 : 12; 10 : 1; Acts 28 : 22, etc., etc., and in the same way in the Septuagint, and the Greek classics also. Beza was too good a scholar not to know this; but his zeal against the Anabaptists misled him. And even if *μέν* here be considered as belonging to the protasis of a sentence, and therefore requiring *δέ* to follow it; yet the *δέ* which usually succeeds the protasis, is not of necessity always expressed. The apodosis, if any is to be supposed, may, in the present case, easily be made out: “John, indeed, baptized the baptism of repentance, etc. . . . but Jesus in a different way, i. e., with the Holy Ghost.” In the same way, *μέν* itself is often omitted in the protasis, while *δέ* stands in

the apodosis; e. g., James 2:11; 1 Cor. 4:12; Phil. 1:18; 1 Pet. 2:14. (3) Δέ in v. 5, I take to be simply the usual *continuative* of narration, employed times without number when *μέν* does not precede it, both in sacred and profane writings; see Bretschn. Lex. δέ 3.

2. Beza is evidently moved to his criticism, by the doctrine of the Anabaptists of his day, who strenuously insisted on rebaptizing those who had been baptized only in infancy. He seems to be jealous for the honour of John's baptism, and wishes to make it out, that Jesus, being baptized by John, received in fact the same baptism as that of Christians. But what is all this to the purpose of *philology*? I might say, What is it to the purpose of theology? For why should baptism into a mere *preparatory* state for the Messiah's kingdom, be the same thing as baptism into that kingdom itself? And what after all can be more probable, than that, of the three thousand baptized on the day of Pentecost, many had been baptized by John?

Against all this on the part of Beza, lie some insuperable objections in the text itself of Acts 19:4—6. If Beza is correct, then, according to v. 5, John baptized *into the name of Christ*; a statement no where made in the sacred records; and one which by implication is contradicted, as well by the nature of his baptism, as by the manner of the narration of the sacred writers, and the Phraseology respecting John's baptism which they employ, and which Paul here employs in v. 4. Moreover, if v. 5 contain the words of Paul, and relates to baptism as performed by John, then does it follow of necessity, by v. 6, that Paul was present when John

baptized, and that he laid his hands upon John's disciples, and communicated to them the Holy Ghost. This supposition not only contradicts fact, but is involved in the additional difficulty of contradicting what John's disciples are here represented as saying in v. 3, viz., "that they had not so much as heard, whether there be any Holy Ghost." All this contradiction, I say, follows from Beza's supposition ; for *αὐτοῖς* in v. 6 inevitably relates to the persons who are mentioned in v. 5 as being baptized. The sacred writer says, in terms that are not capable of any ambiguity, that Paul laid his hands on the same persons who were baptized, and communicated to them the Holy Ghost. Of all this Beza has taken no notice. As to *rebaptizing* ; it is one thing to repeat *Christian* baptism, and another to perform this rite where it has never been performed. Being baptized into an *initiatory* dispensation, is not being baptized into one that is established and completed, and to which the first was merely *preparatory*.

In regard to the first question of the missionary Brethren respecting 1 John 5:7, I have only to say, that there is an overwhelming mass of critical evidence against the genuineness of it, as the state of the matter now is ; and yet there are some very singular evidences, that the reading in question was early in the copies of some of the western churches. The path of safety is to insert it, but to include it in brackets, and mark it as probably spurious. More or less than this, the present state of critical knowledge respecting it does not seem to permit us to do.

In regard to my anonymous correspondent, he will

see, by the perusal of my disquisition, that I differ widely from his mode of reasoning about *external* rites. My mode is thus: What is external merely, never can be essential to a religion which is truly spiritual. But, so far as external rites belong to the *costume* of religion, they are valuable only for the instruction which they convey, i. e., the symbols which they present, and which are significant of important truth. No mystical power of *opus operatum* can be allowed by true Protestants. But an *external* rite, to all intents and purposes of any possible consequence, is *essentially* preserved or performed, *when its significance is essentially kept up*. This is done by immersion, affusion, or sprinkling of water in baptism. The Old Testament and the New stamp all these methods with an indelible impression of genuineness as to such signification. What God has thus sanctioned, let us not seem to make light of.

My belief is, that we *do obey* the command to baptize, when we do it by affusion or sprinkling; that the mere *mode* of applying water cannot possibly make any difference in the case; that he who maintains the contrary, if consistent with himself, should go over to the *opus operatum* of the Roman Catholics; that on such excessive attachment to the mere externals of religion, are justly chargeable the divisions and feuds of Christians in relation to the mode of baptism; and that the church never can have peace, until men will cease from the spirit of contention about matters of *costume* in religion, and leave every one to his own choice in this respect. My correspondent will, of course, see that I accede to no part of his arguments. I verily believe

them to be founded in altogether erroneous views of the nature and value of external rites ; and have no apprehension, that if I am so happy as ever to attain to a place among the blessed of another world, I shall lose any part of the honour or glory of that world, because I have fully believed and taught here, that GOD IS A SPIRIT, and *that those who worship him must worship him in spirit and in truth* ; and have resisted all efforts to lead men to trust in the *manner* of any external ordinances. “Circumcision is nothing ; and uncircumcision is nothing.” “The letter killeth, but the spirit maketh alive.” A view such as my correspondent has, ought to carry him, as it did Constantine, to a belief, that he can be lawfully baptized only in the Jordan, because Jesus was there baptized. How can consistency stop short of this ?

Has my concealed friend never read in 2 Chron. 30 : 18-20, that, when the great multitude of Israel assembled at Jerusalem, according to the invitation of King Hezekiah, in order to keep the feast of the passover, “many in the congregation were not sanctified,” i. e., were not clean according to the requisitions of the Levitical law ; moreover, that a multitude of people . . . . who had not cleansed themselves, did not eat of the passover otherwise than was written ?” And what did this good king in respect to them ? Did he excommunicate them, or refuse to keep the passover with them ? Neither ; but “he prayed for them, saying, The good Lord pardon every one that prepareth his heart to seek God, the Lord God of his fathers, though he be not cleansed according to the purification of the

sanctuary!" And what was the result? Did such a prayer come up before the throne of mercy with acceptance? It did; "the Lord hearkened to Hezekiah, and healed the people."

And is not this fraught with instruction, as to the real value which the Bible sets upon *externals*? It does seem to me to be so; and I wish my brethren who bar up their communion-table against all who have not been immersed might study such passages with more attention. That distinguished man among them, whose sun has recently gone down, although its beams still illuminate the whole horizon, studied and felt the power of such an example as Hezekiah set. *The love of Christ* was a passport to communion at his table, and to the fraternal confidence of his benevolent heart. Blessings will rest, as I believe, on the head of those magnanimous brethren of his denomination who follow his example of Christian liberality. It is, indeed, a serious responsibility that we take upon ourselves, when we say, in the midst of all the light which the nineteenth century sheds around us, "I allow you to be a true disciple of Jesus; I hope and believe you have been born of the Spirit; but I cannot sit down with you at the feast of Jesus' dying love, because water has not been applied to you in the same manner as it has to me." Thus did not Hezekiah; and thus, those who resemble him in the temper of their souls, I must hope and believe, will not much longer do. It is too late. The Spirit will triumph at last over the flesh; the love of God, and of fellow-Christians redeemed by a Saviour's blood, will burst asunder the

manacles of rites and forms, and dispel the charms of sectarian persuasives; and there will yet be, in our American churches, "one Lord, and one faith;" yea, and "one baptism" also, inasmuch as variety of mode will no longer be regarded as infringing upon the unity of this rite. Yes, those who have been sprinkled by Jesus' blood, and sanctified by his Spirit, will yet be *one* in him, as he prayed they might be, in his last fervent supplication for them. The Lord hasten these blessed things in their time!

My correspondent will forgive me for speaking thus freely. The occasion demands it. Those who are ready to break the church in pieces, by contending for rites and forms, seem to me not well entitled to take the position, that others are chargeable with this who will not succumb to such doctrines. For one, I believe that the liberty of Christ entitles us to be free from a spirit of zeal for ~~externals~~; nor do I think it probable that the churches in general will ever be entangled again in such a yoke of bondage.

## ANOTHER VIEW OF THE IMPORTANCE OF LITERAL OBEDIENCE.

WE come now to a point in this discussion, which deserves the serious and prayerful attention of every professed follower of Christ. If obedience to the Saviour's commands is the acknowledged test of discipleship, and the evidence of love to him, it certainly becomes us to pause and consider, before we adopt a position that leads us to think or speak lightly of his institutions. Professor Stuart frankly admits that *baptizo* in the New Testament, when applied to the rite of baptism, does in all probability involve the idea that the rite was usually performed by immersion, and he finds nothing in the circumstances that absolutely forbids the conclusion that immersion was uniformly adhered to; he fully concedes that the churches immediately after the apostolic age, for several centuries, plainly construed the word as meaning immersion, and that the Greek Fathers and the Latin ones who were familiar with the Greek, must undeniably have understood its meaning; and yet he supposes, that although it were even demonstrably certain that *baptizo* means only to immerse, and that the apostles uniformly practiced immersion, it nevertheless would not follow that we must adhere to the original ceremony. "He is not at all concerned in what way the result of the inquiry may come out in respect to the *original mode* of baptism; for the external mode of an external rite, never can, with his present views of Christianity, become to him a matter of any peculiar interest, in any other point of view than merely that of a historical fact." Adopting the words of Calvin in his *Institutes*, iv. c. 15, § 19, he says: "It is of no consequence

at all whether the person baptized is totally immersed, or whether he is merely sprinkled by an affusion of water. This should be a matter of choice to the churches in different regions; although the word *baptizo* signifies to immerse, and the rite of immersion was practiced by the ancient church. He does not then attempt the defence of sprinkling, on the ground that such a practice receives the least countenance either from the meaning of the original word, or from apostolic precedent. He rests the argument on what he supposes is a surer basis than either, viz., the *nature* of the institution. Baptism is an *outward ceremony*; and, therefore, he contends that it is no part of real religion, but a mere *circumstance* of religion, and that, consequently, it can be of no importance to preserve it in its original form.

“The rite in question,” he says “is *merely external*. \* \* \* \* \* Whenever an enlightened Christian wishes to make the inquiry, what is *essential* to his religion, should he not instinctively open his Bible at John iv., and there read thus: “Believe me, the hour cometh, when ye shall worship the Father, neither in this mountain nor yet at Jerusalem. The hour cometh, and now is, when the true worshippers shall worship the Father *in spirit and in truth*; for the Father seeketh such to worship him. **God is a SPIRIT**, and they that worship him must worship him “**IN SPIRIT AND IN TRUTH**.” “Here,” says Professor Stuart, “is the very foundation principle of all Christian and all acceptable worship. God who is himself a Spirit, requires the homage of our spirits. All else is nothing while this is withheld; and when this is given, all else is *circumstance*, not essence.” Christ unquestionably meant here to contrast the ancient and the new dispensations; observing that the true worshippers should hereafter worship the Father, not before the symbol of his glory in the temple of Jerusalem, but in every place wher-

ever he is spiritually present ; and not as formerly, with Jewish rites and forms, but in the *spirit and truth* of those ancient types and shadows. But this by no means implies, either that all external worship was to be abolished, or that it was to be lightly esteemed. Christ and the gospel are the “spirit and truth,” the sum and substance of the ancient economy ; and he that approaches God through the Mediator, whether it be with the homage of his spirit, or in the outward institutions of Christianity, does in the fullest sense worship in the spirit and truth of that dispensation. But to explain Christ’s words in this place, in such a manner as to diminish the value and importance of baptism and the communion, of prayer and praise, or of any of the instituted forms of Christian worship, is to make Christ, in one part of his word, set aside his institutions and his own authority in other parts of his word. This is to interpret Scripture in the true spirit of the ancient Pharisees. They taught that a man might make a “corban of his property,” i. e., consecrate it, under pretence of honouring God, and after that be free from the obligation to honour or support his parents. This was making the word of God of no effect through their tradition. It was interpreting the Scriptures in such a way as to make one part annihilate the authority of another. Any interpretation of any passage, which sets aside the plain commands of God in another part of his word, must be incompatible with the design of the Holy Ghost, and incompatible with the real meaning of the passage. Professor Stuart introduces the 4th of John to disprove the necessity of obeying God in the outward institutions of religion. “God,” he says, “requires the homage of our spirits. All else is nothing while this is withheld ; and when this is given, all else is mere *circumstance*, not essence.” It is true that if we withhold the homage of our spirits, all else is nothing ; but

it is not true that spiritual exercises constitute the sum total of religion. External worship is as really a part of religion as spiritual homage. What is religion but obedience to the commands of God? and is it not as important to obey God in relation to external duties, as in regard to spirituality? Can we rebel with more safety in one case than in the other? What higher spirituality can there be than to love God? and will not love prompt us to obey all the commands of God? "Then shall I not be ashamed," said the Psalmist, "when I have respect unto all thy commandments." "I esteem all thy precepts concerning all things to be right: and hate every false way." So if we are truly spiritual, we shall, like this pious king, have respect unto *all* the commandments of God; and shall esteem *all* his precepts concerning *all* things to be right. If we are spiritual, we shall sit, like Mary, at the feet of Jesus to hear his word. If he claim the heart, we shall give him our hearts; and if he require the service of our bodies, we shall cheerfully yield it. What have we to do, to distinguish his commands into essential and non-essential? Is it not essential to obey all his commands? How can we know what value he puts upon any service, any further than he tells us in his word? Professor Stuart supposes it cannot be essential to adhere to immersion, because it is an external ceremony, and, provided we render the homage of our spirits, all external worship is the mere *circumstance*, not the essence of religion. If external duties were not required, they would not be essential. But God does require them; and yet he supposes that it is not essential to obey these commands, provided that we render the homage of our spirits. But is it a supposable case, that we can obey God in regard to spiritual duties, and at the same time deliberately disobey him in regard to another class of duties? The position is self-evidently absurd. It assumes that a holy

heart may exist independently of a holy life. As well might we suppose that a sweet fountain can send forth bitter water, or a good tree produce bad fruit. The real Christian will yield to the authority of God whenever he sees it. If he is convinced that God requires him to pray, or praise, or be immersed, he will submit. If a duty be impracticable, the command, under such circumstances, is not binding; and I do not say that the delinquent may not find forgiveness in case he mistakes, or does not clearly see the path of duty. But if one stubbornly rebels; if he wilfully disobeys in regard to a known duty, no matter whether it be spiritual or external, he cannot, while he persists, be entitled either to the name of a Christian, or a hope of heaven. Does the Scripture lead us to conclude that they may be neglected with impunity?

It was by external obedience, and not by spirituality merely, that the integrity of our first parents was tested at the beginning; and the curse that followed the transgression teaches us an awful lesson on the danger of delinquency in regard to any positive precept. The Jewish feasts and Sabbaths, the sacrifices and offerings, were external institutions; yet they were charged in the most solemn manner to observe the whole with religious scrupulosity: "What things soever I command you, observe to do it: thou shalt not add thereto, nor diminish from it."

It was in regard to an external rite, that Nadab and Abihu sinned. The law forbade the offering of strange incense before the Lord; but they probably supposed the quality of the fire was a mere circumstance; that the whole was an external rite, and the "mere *mode* of an external rite could not be essential;" and so ventured to transgress the positive command of God. The result was, that they paid for their temerity with the forfeiture of their lives. Immersion is not

a *mode* of baptism, a mere circumstance of the rite; it is the rite itself; but if it were a mere circumstance, the case of Nadab and Abihu would show, not only that we cannot lawfully dispense with a positive institution, but that when the *circumstances* of a rite are prescribed, we can no more alter these, than we can remove the rite itself. Jehovah will be sanctified in them that come nigh him. They must approach him in the way he has prescribed. Judging, then, in the light of the Bible, we come unavoidably to the conclusion, that the institutions of religion are too important to be either neglected or altered, without incurring the displeasure of God. And if we observe the design of baptism, and how constantly the apostles insisted upon it in their preaching, as well as the prominence that is every where given to it in the New Testament, we cannot fail to see that a peculiar importance was originally attached to this rite.

Christ in the commission charged the apostles to go and teach all nations, *baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost.* Accordingly, we find them in their preaching as constantly directing the attention of their hearers to the duty of baptism, as to that of faith and repentance; and obedience was yielded to the one, as invariably as to the other. When Peter's hearers were pricked in the heart, and inquired what they should do, he exhorted them to repent and be baptized; and they that gladly received the word were baptized that very day. Philip, at Samaria, pursued the same course: for it is said that when they believed the things that were spoken by him, they were baptized, both men and women. So when he fell in with the Ethiopian eunuch, he improved the first opportunity he had of mentioning the duty, not of repentance and faith, but of baptism; for when they came to some water, the eunuch exclaimed, See, here is water! what doth hinder me to be

baptized? Of course the eunuch would not have proposed to receive baptism, if Philip had not first informed him that this was the instituted method of professing faith in Christ. When Saul was converted, Ananias was sent to instruct him in the way of duty. He seems to have been the first Christian that visited him; and he at the first interview exhorted him to arise and be baptized. Peter, in the first sermon he preached to the Gentiles at the house of Cornelius, urged the duty of baptism. Lydia appears to have been converted and baptized immediately upon the very first sermon she heard. Of course the apostles must have directed her attention to the subject. And when the jailer opened his heart to hear the word of the Lord, and together with his household, professed faith in Christ, the apostles did not suppose that they had declared to them the whole counsel of God, till they had directed them to be baptized. If, therefore, the apostles wherever they went, invariably preached the necessity of baptism as a branch of Christian duty, and it was as invariably submitted to by all who cordially received the word, how can we draw the conclusion that the ordinance is of little consequence, and may be altered or omitted altogether, as convenience or fancy may dictate? We do not believe that external rites have themselves any intrinsic importance, that is, that they have any inherent efficacy of sanctification; but they derive their importance from the consideration that God has enjoined them; and whether we look at these rites in general, or at baptism in particular, in the light in which they are presented in his word, they appear evidently too important to be either neglected or lightly esteemed. The argument, then, that we may lawfully remove or alter the rite of baptism, because it is an external ceremony, is not sound. If Christ has enjoined immersion, we must obey him. There is no such thing as reasoning

away the obligation. And a command to *immerse*, can be obeyed in no other way than by *immersion*. If we substitute sprinkling, or any other ceremony in its stead, we add the sin of presumption to that of disobedience.

“But,” says Professor Stuart, “*no injunction is any where given in the New Testament, respecting the manner in which this rite shall be performed.* If there be such a passage let it be produced. This cannot be done.”

But what necessity is there for any particular injunction respecting the *manner* of the rite? Would it be possible to describe the rite more definitely than it is described by the word? If it has not been conclusively proved that *baptizo* signifies to *immerse*, and that this is its only proper and legitimate meaning, then there is no evidence in demonstration. When they were required, under the law, to *sprinkle* the blood and water upon the leprous person, and to *pour* oil upon his head, what further explanation of the ceremony did they need? The words *pour* and *sprinkle* were definite terms—so definite that they could not possibly mistake the nature of the action. *Baptize* is just as definite in its meaning as *pour*, or *sprinkle*; and if we are guided by the word, it is impossible to mistake the manner of the rite. But that the word itself does “in all probability” signify to *immerse*, Professor Stuart “cheerfully admits;” he denies, however, that it should be taken in its *literal* sense. To admit the *literal* meaning of the command to determine the manner of the rite, he thinks would prove too much; for if we are bound to observe *literally* the command in relation to baptism, he supposes it will follow that we must likewise observe literally the command in relation to the Lord’s Supper. “At the original institution of this rite,” he observes, “they were assembled in an upper room; they reclined upon a sofa or triclinium; they celebrated at night; they used unleaven

bread, and drank red wine; their clothes were of a certain form. In a word, all the circumstances of the occasion were, in some respect or other, different from those which now accompany the administration of the Lord's Supper. Yet Jesus gave command respecting this ordinance in the following manner: 'THIS do *in remembrance of me*.' I ask now all the advocates for the literal sense of *baptizo*, who urge upon the churches the original *mode* of this rite, why they do not urge upon them in the same manner, and for the same reason, the *literal* doing of what Christ commanded as to the sacrament? Why do you not plead for its celebration by night; and this, too, in a reclining posture, in an upper chamber, with unleavened bread, with the dress, furniture, and attendance that originally were exhibited? You regard not one of all these circumstances; not even a single one. How then do you obey the command of Jesus, THIS do *in remembrance of me*? According to the tenor of your own exegesis, you do not obey it; you cannot, while you do not literally imitate all these particulars.

It is true that both commands stand upon the same footing, as it respects the principle of interpretation; and unquestionably the language is to be taken in its literal sense in both cases. But Professor Stuart supposes that all the *circumstances* accompanying the first celebration were embraced in the command, THIS do. He entirely misapprehends the Scripture narrative. The Evangelist states that when Jesus instituted the communion, "he took bread and brake it, and gave it to the disciples, saying, This is my body, which is given for you: this do in remembrance of me." (Luke xxii. 19.) Paul, alluding to this transaction, says, "The Lord Jesus, the same night in which he was betrayed, took bread, and when he had given thanks, he brake it, and said, *Take, eat; \* \* \* \* this do in remembrance of me*. After

the same manner also he took the cup, when he had supped, saying, This cup is the New Testament in my blood : *this do ye, as oft as ye drink it, in remembrance of me.*" (1 Cor. xi. 23-25.) The command has no reference whatever to the circumstances. But had the Saviour commanded us to celebrate the communion in an upper room, with unleavened bread, and habited in a peculiar dress, it would be just as important to observe these circumstances, as to participate of bread and wine ; and in neglecting them we should as really disobey the command, as if we were to omit the rite altogether. All that we are commanded to do, however, is to *eat bread, and drink the cup* ; and this we are bound to do *literally.*\* So with regard to baptism ; the command re-

\* Professor Stuart supposes that, in case that bread and wine could not be readily obtained, we might with perfect propriety substitute any of the usual elements of nourishment for the body ; that we might, for instance, in case of necessity, celebrate the communion acceptably upon fish and water. Some Pedobaptist churches have recently improved upon this suggestion, and actually removed the wine from the communion altogether, substituting water in all cases. Is this keeping the feast as it was delivered ? Christ caused the disciples to eat *bread*, and to drink of the *fruit of the vine*, i. e., *wine* ; and he commanded them To do THIS, that is, to eat *bread* and drink *wine* repeatedly, in remembrance of him. Does this mean to eat *fish* and drink *water* ? Do we interpret language in this way in the common intercourse of life ? If a son ask *bread* of his father, will he give him a *stone* ? Or if he ask for a *fish*, will he give him a *serpent* ? Why not suppose, then, that Christ means as he says ? He instituted the feast in foresight of every possible exigency ; and if he merely designed that we should make use of any of the common elements of nourishment, why did he not say so ? Why did he not express himself intelligibly ? How can the Bible be called a revelation, if its positive precepts, which are delivered in the plainest and most unequivocal language, may be made to mean any thing we choose to have them mean ? Let us suppose Joseph, when he was commanded to take Mary and the young child and flee into Egypt, to have interpreted

quires us to *be immersed* ; and this we are bound to observe *literally*. As to circumstances, as whether it shall be performed in the morning or evening, whether it shall be accompanied with singing or praying, &c., they are not important, because they are not contemplated in the command. The advocates for the “literal sense of *baptizo*,” then, who urge upon the churches the “*original mode*” of this rite, do urge upon them in the same manner, and for the same reason, “the *literal* doing of what Christ has commanded, as to the communion.” We urge literal obedience to the command of Christ in both cases ; and in both cases we are sustained by the uniform practice of the apostles.

“But,” says Professor Stuart, “an external rite, to all intents and purposes of any possible consequence, is essentially preserved or performed, *when its significance is essentially kept up*. Baptism is significant of *purification* ; and

the command on the same principle that is proposed to be adopted in regard to baptism and the communion : “The *spirit* of the command only requires me to flee from the reach of Herod ; the place is a mere *circumstance* ; and though the command *literally* requires me to go into Egypt, yet the command will be substantially obeyed, though I go into *Arabia*.” On this principle of interpretation, might not Jonah have found an apology for fleeing to Tarshish, when he was commanded to go to Nineveh ? The command *literally* required him to go to Nineveh ; but might he not have reasoned, that in its true *spirit* it only meant that repentance should be preached to sinners ; that there were wicked people in Tarshish, and the place was a mere *circumstance* ; therefore the command might be substantially obeyed by going to the latter place ? Paul received a specific commission to go and preach among the Gentiles. But suppose he had refused to leave Judea, and confined his labours to his own nation ; though he would have been preaching the gospel and doing good, as well as gratifying the excellent feelings of his heart towards his brethren, would Christ, however, have considered him as acting in obedience to his command ? Certainly not.

sprinkling is as expressive of this as immersion. Baptism, it is true, is sometimes, though seldom, alluded to in the Scripture as an emblem of purification ; but this is not the main design of the institution. The grand idea exhibited in baptism, is, the **NEW LIFE** upon which the subject is entered. There is not a more important, or more prominent truth in the word of God, than that men must be entirely *transformed in their moral character*, before they can become the subjects of the kingdom of Christ, or enter the realms of glory. The Christian is, therefore, emphatically a *new creature*. He has been born again ; he has passed **FROM DEATH TO LIFE** : and it is this important fact in his experience—this grand feature in his moral character, that is designed to be uniformly exhibited in the ordinance of baptism. And immersion in water, by which the subject is buried, as it were, in a grave, and again raised out of it, is a beautiful and impressive emblem of this fact. It represents, in a striking manner, our dying to sin, and coming forth again to a new life of holiness ; or that complete *moral change* by which we are qualified to become subjects of Christ's kingdom, children of God, and heirs of heaven. But pouring and sprinkling cannot afford an image of death and resurrection. If, therefore, we substitute either of these ceremonies for immersion, we destroy the significance of the rite, and defeat the main design of the institution. But suppose we admit, for the sake of argument, that *purification* is the principal thing, or, if you please, the only thing, that is symbolized by baptism ; and suppose we admit, too, that pouring and sprinkling would be just as significant of this as immersion ; yet if Christ has not left it to our choice, but has expressly designated the emblem, and commanded us to observe immersion, can we lawfully set aside the symbol he has selected, and substitute one of our own choice ? Was Moses at liberty to

cover the ark of the testament with *brass*, when he was commanded to overlay it with *gold*? The priest was required to sprinkle the blood upon the mercy-seat. Would he have obeyed the command in case he had *poured* it? Such articles as had been defiled by coming in contact with unclean reptiles, were required to be *dipped* into water; would they have been considered as obeying the command in case they had merely *sprinkled* them? Certainly they would not. How, then, can we be considered as obeying the command to *immerse*, when we merely *pour* or *sprinkle* water on the candidate? Professor Stuart supposes that we should, in this case, substantially obey the command; because, though we do not literally perform the ceremony that is required, yet we do perform one that is *equally significant*. But this, after all, is not obeying the command. It is not doing what Christ has required us to do. It is removing his institution altogether, and substituting an invention of our own in its place. No matter how much may be said for its *significance* or *usefulness*. If it is not the thing Christ has commanded, it is to be ranked with the traditions and doctrines of men. Of all the numberless corruptions which, since the rise of Popery, have been foisted into the worship of God, none were ever proposed as avowed innovations. They are uniformly baptized with some specious name of *significance* or *usefulness*, and supported by some plausible argument for their compatibility with the *spirit*, if not with the *letter* of the gospel. We ought, therefore, to be extremely cautious about receiving as a sacred rite, and an institution of Christ, any thing that is not clearly sanctioned in his word. Christ as a Son, having charge of the New Testament Church, has been faithful in revealing the will of his Father; and as disciples, we shall evince our love to him by submitting, without murmuring or disputing, to his institutions; and not by substi-

tuting our own inventions in the place of the revealed will of God.

“But,” says Professor Stuart, “I ask those who plead for literal conformity in mode to the ancient rite of baptism, how they dispose of the ordinance respecting the disciples’ washing each other’s feet, described in John, chap. xiii. 6? Who has repealed the obligation to a literal conformity with this command? You will say it is the *spirit*, rather than the letter, which is here inculcated. I accede. But what is the case in respect to baptism? Will nothing but the *letter* do here? So you may think and reason. But are you not entirely inconsistent with yourself?” To this it is sufficient to reply, that every act of brotherly kindness is not necessarily an act of religious worship. The washing of each other’s feet, although Professor Stuart styles it an ordinance, was not enjoined as a religious institution—an act of *homage to God*—but as a *service to the saints*; and can it be shown that we are not bound to a literal conformity to this command, whenever such an act would be a real service to our brethren?

“Personal safety and convenience,” says Professor Stuart, “often demand that immersion should be dispensed with.

\* \* \* Persons often need to be baptized, when access to water abroad is difficult, dangerous, or impossible. The infirm health of the officiating minister forbids the exposure of himself in this way; the feeble state of the person to be baptized forbids it; or the winter season forbids it. In all the northern and southern parts of the globe, reasons of climate must be urgent against the practice of immersion in rivers and pools for some nine months in the year.” I am not aware that “reasons of climate” interpose any serious barrier to immersion in any habitable part of the world. The Greek Church is spread over an extent of country that em-

braces every variety of climate ; and they have always found it practicable to immerse from the southern provinces of Greece to the northern extremities of the Russian Empire. True, there might be cases where immersion would be impracticable. But what then ? If one is prevented from receiving baptism, by circumstances that are beyond his control, he is released from the obligation. Christ does not require it of him. But if Christ does not require it, why should he be anxious to invent something in its place ? Let Romanists contend for works of “supererogation ;” but let us, as Protestants, deem it sufficient to do what is commanded. Professor Stuart supposes, however, that cases of extreme sickness and imminent danger, are not the only ones in which reasonable consideration pleads for dispensing with immersion ; and in confirmation of his own, he cites the opinion of Duns Scotus, the celebrated metaphysical theologian (fl. 1260), who says: “A minister may be excused from trine immersion, for example, in case he should be feeble as to strength, and *there should be a huge country fellow to be baptized (sit unus magnus rusticus)*, whom he could neither plunge in nor lift out.”—Comm. in iv. Sentent. Dist. 3, Quest. 4. This would indeed be a sad dilemma for both minister and candidate. But does Professor Stuart present this case for the amusement of the reader, or does he seriously think that cases may occur where a minister, on account of the *huge size* of the candidate, should be allowed so far to depart from the *letter* of the command as to *sprinkle* him ? Professor Stuart is really serious. “The like to this,” he says, “must often occur ; especially if the most ancient practice of repairing to rivers and pools continue to be maintained.” But must not cases of disparity in the size of the minister and candidate have occurred as frequently in ancient times as at the present day ? and if this were such a

potent objection to immersion, why did not the ancients plead for a dispensation? Had Professor Stuart, or his "metaphysical theologian," dipped a little *into natural philosophy*, it must have occurred to him that whatever a person's size may be, he is still lighter than water, and, therefore, when immersed, naturally rises to the surface independently of any effort on the part of the administrator. It is a principle in hydrostatics, that *every body, when immersed in water, loses so much of its weight as is equal to the weight of an equal bulk of water*; that is, loses about sixty-two pounds to every cubic foot of water displaced. Therefore, if the weight of the human body and that of water were just equal, a person under water would lose his whole weight; that is, his weight would be *nothing*. But being about *one-ninth* lighter than water, he displaces more by *one-ninth*, than what is equal to his own weight, and this surplus serves to raise him; *and the larger the person the greater is the upward pressure*. It requires, therefore, no exertion to bring the candidate to the surface; and in a suitable depth of water, whatever be his size, a very moderate effort is sufficient to raise him from the surface to an erect posture. But did not Christ foresee every possible case? Did he not know who were to be the administrators, and who were to be baptized? And did he not, in foresight of all these circumstances, command his ministers to go forth into all the world, and *immerse all that believe in his name?* This point has been incontrovertibly established; and with the humble and sincere disciple, such objections as the above have not the weight of a straw; they are contemptible.

But Professor Stuart thinks he has scriptural proof that external rites are of little value. The passage he appeals to is 2 Chron. 30: 18-20. It appears that Hezekiah, upon his accession to the throne of Judah, wishing to restore the long-

neglected solemnities of religion, cleansed the temple, and proclaimed a passover on the fourteenth day of the second month, being too late to celebrate in the first. According to the law of Moses, all who had contracted ceremonial defilement were prohibited access to the feast, until they were purified: "Whosoever he be of all your seed among your generations, that goeth unto the holy things which the children of Israel do hallow unto the Lord, having his uncleanness upon him, that soul shall be cut off from my presence." (Lev. 22 : 3.) But it was ascertained after the solemnities of the passover, that "a multitude of the people who had not cleansed themselves, did eat of the passover otherwise than was written." "And what," says Professor Stuart, "did this good king in respect to them? Did he excommunicate them, or refuse to keep the passover with them? Neither; but he prayed for them, saying, 'The good Lord pardon every one that prepareth his heart to seek God, the Lord God of his fathers, though he be not cleansed according to the purification of the sanctuary. And the Lord hearkened to Hezekiah, and healed the people.' And is not this," continues Professor Stuart, "fraught with instruction, as to the real value the Bible sets upon *externals*? It does seem to me to be so." Hezekiah did not indeed refuse to keep the passover with them; for this feast was already over, and their guilt consisted in *having partaken in their uncleanness*. Had he known, however, that they were not purified, he could not have permitted them to approach the feast, without being himself a partaker of their sin. But *why* did he not excommunicate them? Was it because he thought the offence of so little consequence as not to deserve notice? By no means. *God forgave them*, and therefore Hezekiah did so. The feast of unleavened bread followed the passover, and on this occasion continued fourteen days. The persons

in question undoubtedly united with their brethren in the remaining solemnities ; but not without being purified. It is true that this case is fraught with instruction as to the real value which the Bible sets upon externals. But what does it teach us ? that externals are of little importance ? Does not the fact that God *forgave them* prove that they had *sinned* in neglecting those rites of purification ? And does not the *solicitude* which Hezekiah felt on their account, go to show that the offence was one of *serious magnitude* ? There surely is nothing in all this transaction that would lead us to conclude that those institutions were unimportant, unless it be the fact that God *pardoned* the delinquents. But should the aggressor, because he is forgiven in one instance, be emboldened to commit a second offence ? Will the Christian, who has experienced the favor of pardon, turn the grace of God into licentiousness ? It is impossible. This passage, then, instead of annihilating the value of external rites, proves most conclusively, that when they are enjoined, they cannot be dispensed with, without incurring the Divine displeasure.

But in addition to all these considerations, Prof. Stuart supposes there is an *unavoidable necessity* in the case. "Mere externals," he says, "must be things of particular time and place. Dress does not make the man. One dress may be more convenient, or more decorous than another ; but neither the one nor the other is an *essential* part of the person. So the common feeling of men has decided about most of the external matters pertaining to religion, the world over. They have always been modified by time and place, by manners and customs, and they always will be. The zealot may declaim against this, and cry out that the Church is in danger, and that she has departed from the commands of the gospel ; but considerate and really spiritual men

will reply, that God is a spirit, and that he seeks spiritual worshippers." The amount of this argument is, that men *may* modify and alter the institutions of Christ, because they *will* do it; and whoever presumes to declaim against it, shall be branded as a *bigot and a zealot*. Must positive institutions then, though adapted to the universal Church, and designed to be perpetuated to the end of time, be accommodated to human notions of *fitness* and *expediency*? Have not baptism and the communion—those distinguishing institutions of Christianity—a more permanent character than the changing customs of manners and dress? It is truly surprising that any enlightened Christian should place the standing ordinances of the gospel on a level with things of *time and place*. Yet Professor Stuart strenuously maintains that the positive institutions of religion stand upon the same footing with customs of *manners and dress*; and that they may be varied to suit the time and place, with the same propriety, and on the same principle, that a Turkish female might lay aside her veil, or a gentleman change the fashion of his coat. The Saviour, when he instituted these rites, must have had every possible circumstance of time and place, manners and customs, in immediate view; and yet he made no provision for their accommodation to these circumstances. Who then will presume to attach a *proviso* to the law, where he has not appended one? But "the common feeling of men has decided thus, the world over." It is nothing to me what the feelings of men have decided, or how generally they may have conspired to reject the authority of God. The mandate of Jehovah is not to be set aside by the dictate of mortals. It matters not how early they "began to deflect" from the apostolic practice, nor how general the deflection. What evidence have we that we love Christ, while we pay more deference to the feelings of men, and the customs of

the times, than to his authority ? Did the apostles and prophets claim the liberty Professor Stuart pleads for ? Were they ever known to shun a commanded duty, from regard to personal convenience, or in compliance with the customs of the times ? Were they ever known to deviate in a single iota from the divinely-instituted forms of worship, to escape the sneers of the vulgar, or the frown of kings, or even to save themselves from the martyr's fate ? They were "killed all the day long," and "counted not their lives dear unto themselves." But would Daniel have persisted in his custom of praying three times every day, in defiance of the royal proclamation, and in hazard of an indescribably cruel death, if he had supposed that "spirituality" would atone for the neglect of external devotion ? Would the apostles, whose lives and labors were so precious to the Church, have wantonly courted persecution and death, from an excessive attachment to mere matters of indifference ? It is impossible. They must have acted from a conviction that the positive institutions of religion were not mere *things of time and place*.

But, finally, if we will insist on a literal adherence to the command, and maintain that a particular *mode* of applying the water is essential, "We must," says Professor Stuart, "if we would be consistent with ourselves, go over to the *opus operatum*\* of the Roman Catholics ;" "and on such excessive attachment to the mere externals of religion," he adds, "are justly chargeable the divisions and feuds of Christians, in relation to the mode of baptism ; and the Church never can have peace, until men will cease from the spirit of contention about matters of *costume* in religion, and leave every one to his own choice in this respect."

\* In other words, the doctrine of merit, or inherent efficacy, in the act of duty performed.

But in what sense is baptism left to our choice? Christ has neither commanded us to pour nor sprinkle. He has not told us to take our choice between different modes; but he has expressly enjoined *immersion*. It is for us to determine whether we will obey this command or disobey it. And because we choose to adhere to the command, we are accused of an excessive attachment to duty. Is there danger, then, of an *excessive* regard to the authority of God? What standard have we to determine the importance of external, or any other duties, but the mind of God? And he says: "What thing soever I command you, observe to do it: thou shalt not add thereto, nor diminish from it." (Deut. 12:32.) Yet because we choose to keep the ordinances of Christ just as he delivered them to us, and decline an alliance with those who seem to slight his authority, we are supposed to cherish an attachment to external duties, that is altogether disproportioned to their real importance, and fraught with the mischievous consequences of unholy strife and division. Professor Stuart distinctly assumes that, though Christ commanded us to immerse, we are, nevertheless, at liberty to choose between this and any other mode of applying water; and that if we refuse to admit this, and insist on a particular mode, we evince an excessive attachment to the externals of religion, and are justly chargeable with the divisions and feuds of Christians in relation to the mode of baptism. Is this charge just? Suppose that under a wise and equitable administration of the government, a party of subjects should conspire to throw off the restraint of the laws, so far as they did not accord with their views of fitness and expediency, would it behoove the rest, *for the sake of union*, to go over and join the standard of rebellion? Certainly not. And though others are pleased to abjure the laws of Christ, and depart from the simplicity of the gospel, it cannot be our

duty, *for the sake of harmony*, to follow them. And though there be “divisions,” we are neither the occasion of the schism, nor responsible for the consequences. The case of Ahab and Elijah will furnish an apposite illustration. When Israel, under the reign of Ahab, had relapsed into idolatry, Elijah, jealous for the divine honour, reproved them for their backslidings, and urged them to return, under penalty of experiencing the judgments of the Most High. Ahab was enraged at the prophet, and roughly accosted him as the “troubler” of Israel. Elijah replied, “I have not troubled Israel; but thou and thy father’s house, in that ye have forsaken the commandments of the Lord.” Like this ancient prophet, instead of bartering the truth for an inglorious peace, we are resolved to contend for the ordinances as they were delivered, and disclaim all responsibility for the consequences. If our brethren regard us on this account as the “troublers of Israel,” we will bear the reproach, satisfied with the approbation of Him who has said, “*Ye are my friends if ye do whatsoever I command you.*” And does a strict adherence to the command necessarily imply that we put baptism in the place of the atonement of Christ, and the sanctifying agency of the Holy Spirit? May we not confine ourselves to immersion, from a conscientious regard to the Saviour’s command, without ascribing to the rite a mystical power of sanctification? So far from believing that baptism sanctifies or saves the subject, we never administer it to any, except they first profess faith in Christ, and give satisfactory evidence that they are already regenerated. This indeed constitutes one of the principal features of our denominational character. Why then are we so repeatedly charged with laying an improper stress upon baptism? If the truth were fairly brought out, it would be seen that it is the Pedobaptists themselves who lay an unwarrantable stress

upon this ordinance. It is well known that both infant baptism and sprinkling had their origin in the belief that baptism gave a title to salvation. Supposing that all such as died unbaptized were inevitably lost, they invented, at first *pouring*, and afterwards *sprinkling*, as a substitute for baptism, in case of imminent danger of death, and the impracticability of immersion. And this practice, as Professor Stuart fully acknowledges, was for several centuries *confined* to cases of this nature. Neither pouring nor sprinkling, then, was for ages administered in a single instance, except for the express purpose of securing to the subject the remission of his sins, and a passport to heaven. So much for the birth and early history of sprinkling. The stress that is laid upon the rite by modern Pedobaptists, may be gathered from their respective Confessions of Faith, and the writings of their standard authors.

For the views of the Roman Catholics, take the Canons and Catechism of the Council of Trent. "If any one shall say that baptism is not necessary to salvation, let him be accursed. Sin, whether contracted by birth, from our first parents, or committed ourselves, is, by the admirable virtue of this sacrament, remitted and pardoned. In baptism, not only sins are remitted, but also all the punishments of sins and wickedness are graciously pardoned of God. By virtue of this sacrament, we are not only delivered from those evils which are truly said to be the greatest of all; but also we are enriched with the best and most excellent endowments. For our souls are filled with divine grace, whereby being made just, and the children of God, we are trained up to be heirs of eternal salvation also. To this is added a most noble train of all virtues, which, together with grace, is poured of God into the soul. By baptism we are joined and knit to Christ, as members to the head. By baptism we are signed

with a character which can never be blotted out of our soul. Besides the other things which we obtain by baptism, it opens to every one of us the gate of heaven, which before, through sin, was shut.”\* This needs no comment.

For the views of the English Episcopal church, take their directory for the administration of the Sacraments. Here the minister, previously to administering baptism, is required to pray thus: “ Almighty and immortal God, the aid of all that need, the helper of all that flee to thee for succour, the life of them that believe, and the resurrection of the dead; we call upon thee for this infant, that he, coming to thy holy baptism, may receive remission of his sins by spiritual regeneration,” etc. After administering the ordinance he prays thus: “ We yield thee hearty thanks, most merciful Father, that it hath pleased thee to regenerate this infant with thy Holy Spirit, to receive him for thine own child by adoption, and to incorporate him into thy holy church.” At the confirmation of the baptized, prayer is offered thus: “ Almighty and ever-living God, who hast vouchsafed to regenerate these thy servants by water and the Holy Ghost, and hast given unto them forgiveness of all their sins.” The Catechism is to the same effect. *Question.* “ How many sacraments hath Christ ordained in his Church? *Answer.* Two only as generally necessary to salvation, that is to say, Baptism and the Supper of the Lord. *Question.* What meanest thou by this word sacrament? *Answer.* I mean an outward and visible sign of an inward and spiritual grace given unto us, ordained by Christ himself, *as a means whereby*

\* Concil Trident. Sess. vii. Can. v. Catechism of Council of Trent, pp. 166—175. The Council of Trent was assembled at twenty-five sessions, from A. D. 1545, to A. D 1563, under Popes Paul III., Julius III., and Pius IV.

*we receive the same*, and a pledge to assure us thereof.”\*  
This needs no comment.

The views of the Presbyterians are thus set forth in their Confession of Faith: “The efficacy of baptism is not tied to that moment of time wherein it is administered; yet notwithstanding, by the right use of this ordinance, the grace promised, is not only offered, but really exhibited and conferred by the Holy Ghost, to such, (whether of age, or infants,) as that grace belongeth unto, according to the counsels of his own will, in his own appointed time.”† Here it is distinctly taught that the *efficacy* of baptism is such, that grace, either at the time of the administration or afterwards, is *really exhibited and conferred* by the Holy Ghost, in case that the subject is embraced in the counsels of mercy.

The sentiments of the Reformed Dutch church are thus stated in their Liturgy: *Form for the administration of baptism to infants of believers.*—“Holy baptism witnesses and sealeth unto us the washing away of our sins through Jesus Christ. For when we are baptized in the name of the Father, God the Father witnesseth and sealeth unto us, that he doth make an eternal covenant of grace with us, and adopt us for his children and heirs, &c. And when we are baptized in the name of the Son, the Son sealeth unto us, that he doth wash us in his blood from all our sins, incorporating us into the fellowship of his death and resurrection, so that we are free from all our sins, and accounted righteous before. In like manner, when we are baptized in the name of the Holy Ghost, the Holy Ghost assures us by this holy sacrament, that he will dwell in us, and sanctify us to be members of Christ, applying unto us that which we have in Christ,

\* Book of Common Prayer, Administration of the Sacrament.

† Confession of Faith, p. 123, ed. Philadelphia, 1834.

namely, the washing away of our sins, and the daily renewing of our lives, till we shall finally be presented without spot or wrinkle among the assembly of the elect in life eternal." It is here distinctly stated that the benefits of pardon, sanctification, and eternal life, are secure to all baptized infants. The same is also taught in the catechism.

The following extracts are from distinguished and standard authors of different Pedobaptist denominations :

MATTHEW HENRY, a Congregationalist, and a celebrated Commentator : "The gospel contains not only a doctrine, but a covenant; and by baptism we are brought into that covenant. Baptism wrests the keys of the heart out of the hands of the strong man armed, that the possession may be surrendered to Him whose right it is—The water of baptism is designed for our cleansing from the spots and defilements of the flesh—In baptism our names are engraved upon the breastplate of this great High Priest—This then is the efficacy of baptism; it is putting the child's name into the gospel grant—We are baptized into Christ's death, i. e. God doth in that ordinance, seal, confirm, and make over to us, ALL the benefits of the death of Christ—Infant baptism speaks an hereditary relation to God, that comes to us by descent." *Treatise on Baptism.*

BUDDÆUS, a profound scholar, and a theological writer of the last century : "Baptism is not a mere sign and symbol, by which a reception into the covenant of grace is denoted; but by regeneration, which baptism effects, we are *really received* into that covenant; and so are made partakers of all the blessings peculiar to it."

DR. WATERLAND, a celebrated scholar and divine of the Church of England : "Baptism alone is sufficient to make one a Christian, yea, and to keep him such even to his life's end;

since it imprints an indelible character in such a sense as never to need repeating."

LEWELYN: "Christ has nothing to do with any man, nor any man with Christ, till he is baptized with water. All power in heaven and in earth is in baptism. He that is not baptized, has no interest in the Father, the Son, nor the Holy Spirit. By this ordinance he is united unto the true God, and becomes one with him in all things. Baptism is our righteousness and true holiness; it is remission and cleansing from sin, and though our sins be as scarlet, baptism makes them whiter than snow. He who is baptized is as white and clean from sin as God can make him." *Treatise on Baptism*, pp. 5—23.

JOHN WESLEY, the founder of Methodism: "By baptism, we who were by nature children of wrath, are made the children of God. And this regeneration, which our church in so many places ascribes to baptism, is more than barely being admitted into the church, though commonly connected therewith. Being grafted into the body of Christ's church, we are made the children of God by adoption and grace, John 3: 5. By water then, as a means, the water of baptism, we are regenerated or born again: whence it is called by the apostle, "the washing of regeneration."—In all ages, the outward baptism is a means of the inward—Herein we receive a title to, and an earnest of, a kingdom which cannot be moved.—In the ordinary way there is no other means of entering into the church or into heaven.—If infants are guilty of original sin, then they are proper subjects of baptism, seeing, in the ordinary way they cannot be saved unless this be washed away by baptism."\*

DEYLINGIUS, in his Pastoral Theology says: "Baptism is

\* *Treatise on Bapt.* Works, vol. vi. pp. 15, 17. New York, 1832.

the sacrament of initiation, and as it were the gate of heaven, in which a man is regenerated by the washing of water, and the Word of God, purged from the guilt of sin, and declared to be an heir of all celestial blessings”—and he adds, “If Christian parents defer the baptism of their infants; or, seized by the spirit of Anabaptism, or of fanaticism, will not have them baptized at all;—then, by the authority of the consistory, or of the magistrate of the place, the infant must be taken from the parents, and when initiated by baptism returned to them.”\*

So essential is baptism deemed by the Roman Catholics, that laymen, physicians, females, and even persons of any class, are authorized to administer the ordinance in extraordinary cases. In the latter part of the seventeenth century, Father Jerom Forentini, of Lucca, published a fourth edition of a middle-sized quarto, which had been published by him some years before in a smaller compass, to explain, confirm, and direct the baptism of infants unborn. This book was accompanied with no less than forty imprimaturs and recommendations from divines, bishops, physicians, generals of orders, and universities.† And, so late as the year seventeen hundred and fifty one, a doctor of divinity and laws, of Palermo,‡ published in the Italian tongue, a book of three hundred and twenty pages in quarto, dedicated to all the guardian angels, to direct priests and physicians how to secure the eternal salvation of infants by baptizing them when they could not be born.§

\* *De Prudent. Pastoral. Pars. iii. c. 3, § 2, 15.*

† *Robinson, Hist. of Baptism, p. 432, ed. London, 1790.*

‡ *F. E. CANGIAMILÆ, Embriologia Sacra Mediol. 1751.*

§ Such baptisms are not confined to past ages and foreign countries. The practice is continued to the present day, and in our own country A respectable physician in the city of New York was, in a certain in-

It is not true, then, that an adherence to immersion necessarily involves the doctrine of *opus operatum*; but it is true, and cannot be denied, that *sprinkling* is the legitimate offspring of that doctrine; and that, for ages, it lived, and moved, and had its being, in that sentiment alone. And it is equally undeniable, that the two have usually gone hand in hand to the present time. These facts I would gladly have passed over in silence, had I not been compelled to notice them. Pedobaptists have laboured to impress the public mind with the belief, that it is the Baptists who lay an improper stress upon the ordinance of baptism. Now, this is exactly the reverse of truth. It was necessary, therefore, that the views of the great body of Pedobaptists, as set forth in their Confession of Faith, and as avowed by their most popular writers, should be distinctly placed before the reader, that he might be able to judge who it is that magnify the importance of this rite beyond its proper bounds. We do not believe, neither do we teach, that baptism is regeneration; that it is remission of sins; that it brings us into a covenant relation with God; or gives us a title to heaven. We require of every person who proposes to receive baptism, that he give evidence of having experienced the grace of regeneration and remission of sins. So far from believing that baptism gives a title to salvation, we insist that it is the experience of the grace of salvation alone, that can give a title to baptism. But though eternal life is the **GIFT OF GOD** through our Lord Jesus Christ, we do believe, nevertheless, that it is important to observe every institution that is of Divine appointment. We insist that immersion is enjoined on every believer in Jesus Christ, and that it is important for every believer to observe it.

stance, not long since, requested by a priest to administer baptism in a case of this nature, provided that the circumstances should require it.

To this Prof. Stuart opposes, that external rites make no part of real religion ; that they are not essential to salvation ; and that it cannot, therefore, be important to observe them according to the original institution. But is his opinion properly sustained ? Does it not, in some important particulars, at least, conflict with the doctrine of Scripture ? James, c. 1, v. 27, says: " Pure religion and undefiled before God and the Father is this, To visit the fatherless and widows in their affliction, and to keep himself unspotted from the world." Here it is clearly stated that outward duties do compose a very important part of religion ; and that, however much man may talk of spirituality and faith, unless he is a Christian in *deed* as well as in *word*, his religion is vain. And is it not contrary to the spirit of true religion, for one to refuse to obey any Divine command, and attempt to vindicate his refusal by saying : " The performance of it is not essential to my happiness ; for a sinner may be saved without it" ? Is not this mode of arguing, as Mr. Booth observes, " big with rebellion against God" ? What ! Shall we do nothing that God has commanded, unless we look upon it as essentially necessary to our future felicity ? Is this the way to manifest our faith in Jesus, and love to God ? " This is the love of God," says the apostle, " that we keep his commandments ; and his commandments are not grievous," 1 John 5 : 3. And again, " I rejoiced greatly that I found of thy children walking in truth, as we have received a commandment of the Father," 2 John 5: 4. Here the " love of God" and " walking in truth" are inseparably connected with obedience to the Divine commands. Saul, when he was sent against the Amalekites, with a particular charge to destroy both man and beast, presumed to spare the best of the sheep and of the oxen, for a sacrifice unto the Lord ; but what said Samuel to him ? " Hath the Lord as great delight in

burnt offerings and sacrifices, as in obeying the voice of the Lord ? Behold, to obey is better than sacrifice, and to hearken, than the fat of rams. For rebellion is as the sin of witchcraft, and stubbornness is as iniquity and idolatry. Because thou hast rejected the word of the Lord, he hath also rejected thee from being king," 1 Sam. 15 : 22, 23. Saul presumed that a sacrifice would be, in that instance, as acceptable to the Lord as obedience to his command. But he was mistaken. So, if we presume to substitute in the place of any Divine institution, an uncommanded service, we must expect, instead of a gracious acceptance, to be met with the rebuke, " Who hath required this at your hand ?"

Prof. Stuart does not pretend, that in practicing immersion, we deviate either from the command of Christ or the example of the apostles ; but he thinks we are pharisaically rigid, and superstitiously attached to rites and forms, in that we will allow of no alteration of the original form of the institution. But what do all his arguments in favour of changing the original rite amount to ? What are considerations of " personal convenience," and the " common feeling of men," or even of the *nature* of the service required, when placed in the scale against a positive command of Christ ? What will these objections weigh with the sincere Christian, who is satisfied that the Saviour requires him to be immersed ? And how can one fail of being satisfied of this, if he examine the subject in the light of reason and of Scripture ? The meaning of the word, the design of the rite, and the uniform practice of the apostles, all conspire to bring us to the conclusion, that the original institution of Christ was **IMMERSION, AND IMMERSION ONLY.** In this form it was transmitted by the apostles to their successors ; and for more than thirteen centuries it was preserved in its original simplicity. In this form it is still binding on every follower of

Christ. And when the churches are purged of their corruptions, and approach the period of perfection and millennial glory, they must return to the apostolic standard, acknowledging, as at the beginning, but **ONE LORD, ONE FAITH, AND ONE BAPTISM.**\*

\* This chapter is from the Review of Stuart, by the late Wm. Judd.

## APPENDIX.

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### NOTE FIRST.

OUR English translators have erred egregiously in rendering  $\beta\alpha\pi\tau\iota\zeta\epsilon\nu\ \grave{\epsilon}v$ , *baptize with*. The preposition  $\grave{\epsilon}v$  in construction with  $\beta\alpha\pi\tau\iota\zeta\omega$ , never means *with*, but is always to be taken in the sense *in* or *into*. It is invariably so rendered in the Latin Vulgate, and other early versions.  $\beta\alpha\pi\tau\iota\zeta\epsilon\nu\ \epsilon i\zeta$  is *not*, as Prof. Stuart asserts, the *usual* classical construction for expressing the idea of *plunging into*. This verb expresses plunging, wherever it is used, whatever be the mode of construction; but taking only these cases where mention is made of the element, and where the sense of plunging into is indisputably certain from the connection, I find, from a general survey of the examples, that the classics use  $\beta\alpha\pi\tau\iota\zeta\epsilon\nu\ \grave{\epsilon}v$  *twice as often* as  $\beta\alpha\pi\tau\iota\zeta\epsilon\nu\ \epsilon i\zeta$ . Prof. Stuart's mistake on this point arose no doubt from confounding the usage of  $\beta\alpha\pi\tau\iota\zeta\omega$  with that of  $\beta\acute{\alpha}\pi\tau\omega$ . Taking it for granted that the usage of both verbs is precisely the same, he has produced some ten examples of  $\beta\acute{\alpha}\pi\tau\omega$  in construction with  $\epsilon i\zeta$ , and one of  $\beta\alpha\pi\tau\iota\zeta\omega$ , in order to show the usage of the latter verb. Now,  $\beta\acute{\alpha}\pi\tau\omega$  is very often constructed with  $\grave{\epsilon}v$ , with the sense of plunging into, perhaps almost as often as with  $\epsilon i\zeta$ ; but admitting that it is, for the most part, joined with  $\epsilon i\zeta$ , still it is certainly not the case with regard to  $\beta\alpha\pi\tau\iota\zeta\omega$ , as Prof. Stuart would have seen, had he con-

ducted his investigation on strictly philological principles, confining himself to the verb with which he was chiefly concerned. The truth is, any verb in Greek, signifying to plunge, *might* usually take either *εἰς* or *ἐν*, without any material difference of meaning ; though in point of fact, some verbs are connected with one, oftener than with the other. Precisely the same usage obtains in English. We can say either *dip in* or *dip into* ; *immerse in* or *immerse into* ; but in actual use, *dip* is probably constructed with *into* oftener than with *in*, while *immerse* is almost exclusively constructed with *in*. Now this does not arise from the fact that the expression “to immerse one *in* water” conveys a materially different meaning from the phrase “to immerse one *into* water ;” for as to sense, the two expressions are entirely equivalent ; but it is because the former expression is a more euphonious one than the latter. It is entirely a matter of taste. So with regard to the Greek. Whether “baptize *into*” or “baptize *in*” be spoken, is, for the most part, immaterial, as to the sense. Hence it becomes a matter of taste ; and they give the preference to the more euphonious expression of the two.

Prof. Stuart has also entirely failed in his attempt to prove that *ἐβαπτίσθη εἰς τὸν Ἰορδάνυν*, in Mark 1: 9, would bear to be rendered “was baptized *at* the Jordan.” The proofs which he cites are Matt. 2: 23, John 21: 4, Acts 8: 40, Sept. Esth. 1: 5. In not one of these instances, however, does the preposition mean *at*. But if, in such connections, it merely signifies *locality*, i. e. *in*, without the idea of entrance into, it will determine nothing as to its signification in connection with such verbs as *βαπτίζω*. Its proper and primary meaning is *into* ; and it must be allowed its primary meaning in all cases where the connection does not exclude it. In connection with the verbs in question, it confessedly

signifies *into*. Prof. Stuart admits this, and even contends for it, on page 313, though he contends against it, with reference to Mark 1:9, on page 314. Nor has Prof. Stuart done any thing towards establishing the sense, “was baptized *with* the Jordan,” which he thinks to be the true rendering, the other being adduced only as a *possible* construction. He appeals for proof to John 9:7, *νίψαι εἰς κολυμβήθραν*, *wash into the pool*; and Alciphron 3. 43, *λονσαρένον εἰς τὸ βαλανεῖον*, *having washed into the bath*, in which cases, he supposes *εἰς* to be employed in a like sense with *ἐν*. But before these passages can make any thing to his purpose, it must be shown, not only that *εἰς* is here used in a like sense with *ἐν*, but also that *ἐν* in such connections would signify *with*. In other words, it must be *proved* that *εἰς* in these places signifies *with*. Now, I confidently deny that *ἐν* in such connections ever signifies *with*; and if it did, I would still deny that *εἰς* could not be interchanged with it in the sense of *instrumentality*; for it has no such meaning in the whole compass of the language. It is true that *εἰς*, in certain connections, signifies intusposition merely, i. e. position within the object mentioned, without the idea of entrance into it; but it never means mere *proximity*, nor *instrumentality*. If *εἰς* were to be taken here for *ἐν*, it must be taken for it in the sense of locality or intusposition; and we should have to render “in the pool”—“in the bath;” and not “with the pool”—“with the bath;” nor yet “at the pool”—“at the bath.” Indeed, the connection in both cases excludes the meaning *at*, that is, if *at* denote mere *proximity*; for the washing mentioned in John 9:7 was literally performed *in* the pool, not merely *at* or *near* it. And so was the washing or bathing mentioned in Alciphron 3. 43 literally performed *in* the bath, not *outside* of it. If Prof. Stuart doubts that the operation of bathing was performed *in* the

baths, I would refer him to such passages as Arrian. Epictet. 2. 20, "When you bathe, what do you go into?" Again, same c., "They seek to go away into the bath." Hom. Il. 10. 576, "And then going into the polished baths, they washed themselves." Aesch. Choeph. 489, "Remember the baths in which thou wast bereaved of life"—the words of Orestes to his father, who had been killed by Clytemnestra while in the act of bathing. Agamem. 1128, "She smote him, and he fell in the laver of water"—an allusion to the same affair. I do not believe, however, that *εἰς* here means *in*. I have no doubt that it has in these places its proper and legitimate signification. When we speak of *washing into* a vessel, the idea expressed is that of washing off sweat, dirt, &c., into the vessel. This is the proper force of the expression, and no doubt it is used in this sense, when John speaks of washing into the pool, and Aleiphron, of washing into the bath. Dr. Bloomfield supposes that this passage of Aleiphron has a significatio pregnans, and that the sense is, "to be washed (by being plunged) into a bath." But I prefer the analysis which I have just proposed. The words in Mark 1:9, then, for aught that Prof. Stuart has advanced, may be rendered according to their proper force, "was baptized or plunged into the river Jordan." Even Dr. Bloomfield acknowledges this, in his note on the place. He says: "Εἰς is not here for ἐν, as most commentators imagine, who adduce examples which are quite inapposite. The sense of ἐβαπτ. *εἰς* is, "was dipped," or "plunged into."

## NOTE SECOND.

Prof. Stuart supposes that the words *ἀνέβη* (*ἀναβαίνων*) *ἀπὸ τοῦ ὕδατος*, in Matt. 3: 16; Mark 1: 10, do not imply that the baptism was performed *in the stream*, but properly mean no more than that Jesus retired from the water of the river, by going up its banks. He confounds the *walking up out of the water* with the *emersion* of the candidate, or the rising from under the surface of the water to a standing posture, and goes on to argue that the words are *incapable* of such a sense, because (1). The emersion was a part of the baptism, and the baptism is said to have been completed before he went up from the water; in other words, *ἐβαπτίσθη* includes the emersion, and, therefore, the idea cannot be supposed to be repeated in the word *ἀνέβη*. (2). The verb *ἀναβαίνω* is never used to signify emerging from the water. The proper word for this is *ἀναδύω*; but this verb is never commuted, to his knowledge, with *ἀναβαίνω*, which has a perfectly distinct usage, and is certainly never used in the New Testament in the sense of emerging. (3). The preposition *ἀπὸ* will not allow such a construction. He has found no example where it is applied to indicate a movement out of the liquid into the air. To all this I reply, that the words in question *are capable* of being referred to Jesus' emersion from under the surface of the water; for (1) the emersion is not strictly included in *ἐβαπτίσθη*. Baptizo cannot mean at the same time both *immerse* and *emerge*; for no word can signify at the same time two exactly opposite ideas. The idea of emersion is never associated with baptism except by inference; and this depends always upon the connection. When we are told of the baptism of a ship, or that Aristobulus was killed, being baptized in a pool by

order of Herod, we do not think of an *emersion*; because it is not contained in the word, and, moreover, the connection forbids it. But when we are told of the baptism or immersion of persons as a religious act, we at once associate the idea of emersion, not, however, because it is contained in the word any more in this case than in the others; but we *infer* it from the known fact, that they are immersed for an innocent purpose. Hence, as emersion belongs to the rite only by implication, the Evangelist, had he wished to *express* the idea, could, without any tautology, have said that Jesus "was baptized into the Jordan, and straightway *emerging* from the water, he saw the heavens opened." (2). The verb *ἀναβαίνω* is used to signify *emersion from the water*. It is employed to designate ascending motion in every variety of connection; and I cannot believe that any one would ever have thought of its being less capable of signifying ascension from *water*, than from any other substance, unless the conceit had been suggested by a preconceived and favourite hypothesis. This verb is used to denote emersion from the water in the Epistle of Barnabas, Sect. 11, "And there was a river (*ποταμὸς*) running on the right hand, and beautiful trees *rose* (or grew) *up out of it, ἀνέβαντεν ἐξ αὐτοῦ*." This example is unequivocal, and cannot be controverted. Again, the LXX. employ it in a similar sense in Ps. 104: 8 (103: 8), "The mountains *rise* (*ἀναβαίνοντιν*), and the vallies *descend*." The allusion here is to the apparent rising of the mountains *from the water*, at the abatement of the deluge. The verb is here as obviously employed in its usual and proper signification as when we speak of the rising of the sun; and it indisputably means rising or emerging from the water. But the New Testament itself affords examples of such a meaning. The first occurs in Matt. 17: 27, "Go thou to the sea, and cast in a hook, and take up the

fish that first *cometh up, ἀναβάντα.*" Bretschneider explains the verb here by *emergo, to emerge*, and the modern Greek by *ἔβγη, cometh out, emergeth*. If, however, this should not be deemed an unequivocal example, one may be found in Rev. 13: 1, "And I stood upon the sand of the sea, and saw a beast *rising up out of the sea, ἐκ τῆς θαλάσσης ἀναβαῖνον.*" This is an unquestionable example. John sees one beast rising up out of the sea, and another in like manner rising up out of the earth (v. 11). The imagery here is the same as in 1 Sam. 28: 13, where the witch of Endor professes to have a view of gods *ascending out of the earth, θεούς ἀναβαίνοντας ἐκ τῆς γῆς*, or according to Origen, *ἀπὸ τῆς*—and in Pseudo-Ezra, 1. 4. c. 13, where he says that he saw in a vision, a man, or as it was afterwards explained to him, the Son of God, *ascending out of the midst of the sea, with myriads of celestial attendants.* (3). The preposition *ἀπὸ* is consistent with the idea of emersion from the water. It is frequently employed to express this idea, e. g. Hom. Hymn to Mercury, 185. "Aurora, who brings light to mortals, *rose from the deep flowing ocean, ὥρνυτ' ἀπ' ὀκεανοῦ.*" Il. 19. 1, "Aurora *rose from the flood of the ocean, ἀπ' ὀκεανοῦ ροάων ὥρνυθ.*" Tobit 6: 2, "A fish leaped *from the river, ἀπὸ τοῦ ποταμοῦ.*" In these examples, *ἀπὸ* certainly indicates a movement out of a liquid into the air. The words in question, therefore, are clearly capable of being applied to Jesus' emersion from under the surface of the water. And so Dr. Campbell translates the passage. This, however, is not the most natural sense of the expression; nor is it probably the true one. The writer undoubtedly refers, not to the rising from under the surface, but to the *going up from the water*, the departure commencing at the spot in the stream where the baptism was performed. The difference between *ἐκ* and *ἀπὸ* is, that *ἐκ* supposes *intusposition*, and *ἀπὸ* *contiguity* merely;

which is exactly the difference between *out of* and *from*; for in English usage, *out of* always signifies departure from *within* the object mentioned, while *from* only expresses departure from a point in *contiguity* with the object mentioned. Thus, if we say that one went *out of* the water, it is signified that he had been *in it*; but if we say that he went *from* the water, all that is actually expressed is, that he had been in *contiguity* with it, or *by* it. But though *from* does not actually express intusposition, it is, nevertheless, always compatible with it, that is, never forbids it. Therefore, when it is said that Jesus went up *from* the water, the preposition does not oblige us to suppose that he started from the exterior limit of the water, as Prof. Stuart contends, but permits us to suppose that he started either from the exterior limit, or from any point within the interior of the stream, as the connection may indicate; and surely the connection here indicates that the departure was from the interior of the stream; for it is stated that he was baptized *into the stream*, and then went up immediately from the water. Now, it is naturally signified by this, that after being baptized, he walked up out of the water; and so it would be understood by ninety-nine readers out of a hundred. It is admitted that the preposition does not of itself determine that he started from the interior of the stream; yet I have never before met with the philologist who contended that it *excluded* that idea. As to whether *ἀναβαίνειν* can denote *walking* or *going up* in the water, in order to depart out of it, the reader can need no proof of that point, since he must have met with the verb in that sense, in its various forms of composition, on almost every page of the classics. Prof. Stuart's remarks on *καταβαίνειν εἰς*, in Acts 8:38, are equally at war with Greek usage, as well as with the common principles of philology, and are altogether unworthy of their learned author.

The argument that the expression cannot mean *going down into* the water, because it is the counterpart or antithesis of *ἀναβαίνειν ἀπό*, is nothing to his purpose, inasmuch as this latter expression does not mean *going up the banks* of the river, but signifies literally and inevitably, *going up out of* the water. The preposition *εἰς* with *καταβαίνειν*, in every instance which Prof. Stuart has cited to prove the meaning *to*, literally signifies *into*, namely, in Luke 10: 30; John 2: 12; Acts 7: 15, 8: 26, 14: 25, 16: 8, 18: 14, 22, 25: 6. To say that one is going *towards* Jericho, Capernaum, or Egypt, as the case may be, is one expression; to say that he is going *to* the place is another expression; and to say that he is going *into* it is another expression still. In each case the preposition has its proper and distinctive meaning. If it be objected that the man who is represented as going into Jericho, did not actually enter into Jericho, it is sufficient to reply, that the expression does not contain that. The writer says simply that he *was going* down into Jericho; for he here uses the imperfect, and not the aorist, as in the other passages. The man was in the act of going down into Jericho. All this was strictly true, and the expression means no more. If it be said that one is *felling* a tree, the word *fell* is entitled to its usual meaning, whatever the event may be. The man is supposed to be really in the act of felling the tree, though something should occur to prevent the completion of the act. This is a universal principle in language. The preposition *εἰς* has, therefore, beyond all doubt, its usual meaning in all these passages; and so it has in Luke 8: 23, and Rev. 13: 13, where, however, Prof. Ripley is disposed to concede that it signifies *on*, rather than *into*. The literal meaning of Luke 8: 23 is, *There came down a storm of wind into the lake.* Rev. 13: 13 likewise means literally, *He maketh fire come down out of heaven into the earth.* It is true

the Greeks, as well as we, could say “*on* the lake,” and “*on* the earth,” but in that case the preposition would be *ἐπὶ*, and not *εἰς*. The phrases “*into* the lake,” “*into* the earth,” in such connections as these, like the expressions “*into* the field,” “*into* the mountain,” &c., are spoken with reference to the circumferential limits. As to the remark, that *ἐμβαίνω* is the appropriate expression to signify *entrance into* any place or thing, and that the writer should have used this instead of *καταβαίνειν εἰς*, if he had wished to signify that Philip and the eunuch went down into the water, it has not the least weight whatever. The one expression means *to go in*, and the other *to go down into*, and the reader may judge for himself whether the latter does not express *entrance into*, at least as decisively as the former. Prof. Stuart, a few pages back, when *ἐν* came up in connection with *βαπτίζω*, contended that *εἰς* was the proper word for expressing the idea of *into*; but now that *εἰς* actually occurs, he would have us believe that it means only *to* or *towards*, and that *ἐν* is the only word that can take us *into* the water. Consistency is a precious jewel, and the more so, seeing that it is so rarely to be met with, especially among controvertists. The insinuation that *καταβαίνειν* cannot, agreeably to usage, be spoken of ‘going down into the water, is perfectly unphilological and contrary to fact; for this is one of its most common applications. Æsop uses it in a single Fable (Fab. 127) no less than four times in this sense. What would a native Greek think of this insinuation of the learned Professor, that *βαίνειν* cannot be employed to express *walking in water*, either with respect to going down into it, going up out of it, when this very word is almost the only one they use to signify going through or fording a stream or body of water, which, of course, includes both going down into it, and going up out of it? Indeed, what must any well-instructed

philologist think of any and every one of his criticisms on *καταβαίνειν εἰς* and *ἀναβαίνειν ἀπό*? Of themselves they do not seem to me to merit a serious refutation; but for the sake of those who have but an imperfect knowledge of Greek, I have thought it best to expose their fallacy.

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## NOTE THIRD.

THE celebrated Jewish writer, Maimonides, who flourished in the twelfth century, says: " Whenever any Gentile wishes to be received into the covenant of Israel, and associated with them, circumcision, baptism, and voluntary offering are required. If the person be a female, then only baptism and offering."—Issure Biah, cap. 13. Indeed it is a common maxim among the Jews, that *there is no proselyte, until he is circumcised and baptized*. But whether the custom of proselyte baptism existed as early as the commencement of the Christian era, is a disputed point among the learned. Prof. Stuart has an elaborate article on the subject, in which he enters into a pretty minute examination of the evidence in the case. His results are substantially as follows: The baptism of proselytes is no where enjoined in the Old Testament; and the Jewish writers who flourished about the commencement of the Christian era, viz., Philo, Josephus, and the Chaldee paraphrasts Onkelos and Jonathan, all observe a profound and universal silence respecting the existence of such a custom at the time their respective works were written. The earliest mention of proselyte baptism is in the Mishna, written by Rabbi Judah the Holy, about A. D. 220, where the author says: " As to a proselyte, who becomes a proselyte on the evening of the passover, the followers of Shammai say, Let him be baptized (*tooval*), and let him eat of

the passover in the evening: but the disciples of Hillel say, 'He who separates himself from the prepuce, separates himself from a sepulchre,' i. e., he has need still of such repeated lustrations as one must practice, who has been polluted by a dead body in the grave."—Tract. Pesahhim. c. 8, § 8. The Mishnical author does not here say that Hillel and Shammai did themselves agitate the question about the baptism of proselytes; but it was a subject of dispute among their followers at the time he wrote. In allusion to this passage in the Mishna, and by way of explanation of it, the Jerusalem Talmud, which is supposed to have been written during the latter part of the third century, in Tract. Pesah. p. 36, c. 2, represents Rabbi Eliezer, the son of Jacob, as saying, that some Roman soldiers, who kept guard at Jerusalem, ate of the passover, *being baptized on the evening of the passover*. In the Babylonish Talmud it is stated, Cod. Jevamoth, fol. 46, "As to a proselyte who is circumcised, but not baptized, what of him? Rabbi Eliezer says: 'Behold he is a proselyte; for thus we find it concerning our fathers, that they were circumcised, but not baptized.' But as to one who is baptized, and is not circumcised, what of him? Rabbi Joshua says: 'Behold he is a proselyte; for thus we find it respecting maid-servants, who were baptized, but not circumcised.' But the wise men say: 'Is he baptized, but not circumcised; or is he circumcised, but not baptized; he is not a proselyte until he is circumcised and baptized.'"

Excepting the testimony of the Mishna, all that we can gather from the Rabbinic writers is, that some time in the latter part of the third century, when the Jerusalem Talmud was written, the custom of baptizing proselytes was common; still more so did it become during the times when the Babylonian Talmud was written, i. e., from the commencement of the fifth century onward, some two hundred or more years.

On the whole we must admit, that, independently of the Scriptures, we have evidence that ought to satisfy us, that, at the commencement of the third century, the custom of proselyte baptism was practiced among the Jews; and if the case of the Roman soldiers, related in the Jerusalem Talmud as stated above, be truly represented, then, even while the temple was standing, proselyte baptism must have been known. We may, therefore, come safely to the conclusion, that *such baptism was practiced at, or not long after, the time when the second temple was destroyed.* But we are destitute of any earthly testimony to the practice of proselyte baptism, antecedently to the Christian era. The original institution of admitting Jews to the covenant, and strangers to the same, prescribed no other rite than that of circumcision. No account of any other is found in the Old Testament, none in the Apocrypha, New Testament, Targums of Onkelos, Jonathan, Joseph the blind, or in the work of any other Targumist excepting Pseudo-Jonathan, whose work belongs to the seventh or eighth century. No evidence is found in Philo, Josephus, or any of the earlier Christian writers.

Such is the conclusion at which Professor Stuart arrives; and he thinks, inasmuch as it is on all hands conceded that proselyte baptism among the Jews consisted in *immersion*, that this subject has an important bearing on the question of Christian baptism. I do not conceive, however, that it has the least bearing on this subject whatever. Admitting that the baptism of proselytes prevailed among the Jews at the commencement of the Christian era, it would be a most preposterous supposition, that Christ borrowed a distinguished ordinance of his kingdom from that custom. Christian baptism had a divine, not a human origin. See John 1: 33; Matt. 21: 25; Mark 1: 1: 4. I agree with Prof. Stuart, that the passages in Tacitus, Hist. v. 5, and the Epictetus of

Arrian, L. 2. c. 9, which have sometimes been supposed to relate to proselyte baptism, have no reference whatever to that custom. But I cannot suppose with him, that Arrian refers to the ordinary ablutions of the Jews. His words are, according to Prof. Stuart's translation, "Why dost thou call thyself a Stoic? Why dost thou deceive the multitude? Why dost thou, being a Jew, play the hypocrite with the Greek? Dost thou not see how any one is called a Jew, how a Syrian, how an Egyptian? And when we see any one acting with both parties, we are wont to say, He is no Jew, but he plays the hypocrite. But when, ἀναλάβῃ τὸ πάθος τοῦ βεβαμένου καὶ ἡρημένου, he takes on him the state and feelings of one who is *washed* or *baptized* (*βεβαμένου*), and has attached himself to the sect, then he is, in truth, and is called, a Jew. But we are, *παραβαπτίσται*, transgressors as to our baptism, or *false* *baptized*, if we are like a Jew in pretence, and something else in reality," etc. The writer is speaking particularly of public teachers, and endeavours to expose the absurdity of their inculcating principles which they did not practice. By a Jew, I think he undoubtedly means a Christian. It is well known that Jews and Christians were often confounded in the writings of profane authors. I take *βεβαμένου* in its metaphorical sense, and would translate the whole passage thus: "Why dost thou call thyself a Stoic? Why dost thou deceive the multitude? Why dost thou, being a Jew, play the hypocrite with the Greek? Dost thou not see how any one is called a Jew, how a Syrian, how an Egyptian? And when we see any one acting with both parties, we are wont to say, He is no Jew, but he plays the hypocrite. But when *he assumes the feelings of one who is imbued* [with their doctrine], *and united with the sect*, then he is in truth a Jew, and is so called. And so we are false, or adulterated baptizers (*παραβαπτίσται*),

Jews in *word*, but something else in *deed*, if our feeling (disposition or temper) do not correspond with our profession. The verb *bapto*, often signifies, metaphorically, *to imbue* with a sentiment or doctrine, as has already been shown above; and as the writer is speaking of public teachers, that is, of philosophers on the one hand, and of Christian teachers on the other, it seems requisite to take *parabaptistai* in its appropriate sense of *baptizers*, as I have rendered it.

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### VERSIONS.

THOUGH the authority of versions, either ancient or modern, cannot be admitted as decisive in regard to the meaning of *baptizo*; yet such of them as were made in those parts where, and in an age when, the meaning of the word was perfectly understood, and could not have been mistaken; while the practice of all Christians in respect to baptism was uniform, and while, of course, there existed no sectarian motives either to conceal or pervert its meaning; such of the versions as were made under these circumstances, especially if they harmonize, in their results, with other acknowledged principles of interpretation, must be supposed to furnish strong corroborative proof of the true import of the word.

#### *Ancient and Modern Oriental Versions.*

**SYRIAC.**—The old Syriac, or Peshito, is acknowledged to be the most ancient, as well as one of the most accurate versions of the New Testament extant. It was made at least as early as the beginning of the second century, in the very country where the apostles lived and wrote, and where both the Syriac and the Greek were constantly used and perfectly

understood. Of course it was executed by those who understood and spoke both languages precisely as the sacred writers themselves understood and spoke them. Michaelis, whose competency to judge of its merits will not be disputed, pronounced it to be the very best translation of the Greek Testament which he ever read, for the general ease, elegance, and fidelity with which it is executed. All the Christian sects in Syria and the East make use of this version exclusively; and within a few years past, it has been reprinted and extensively circulated among them, at the expense of the British and Foreign Bible Society. This version renders *baptizo* and its derivatives uniformly by *amad*, and its corresponding derivatives. All the authorities agree in assigning to this word the primary and leading signification of *immersion*. Prof. Stuart, so far as I know, is the first who ever suggested a doubt of this meaning. "The Syriac," he observes, "has a word, *tzeva*, like the Chaldee צבָע *tzeva*, and the corresponding, Hebrew צבָע, *tava*, which means *to plunge*, *dip*, *immerse*, etc. Why should it employ the word *amad*, then, in order to render *baptizo*? In the Old Testament it is employed in the like sense, only in Numbers 31:23. There is no analogy of kindred languages to support the sense in question of the Syriac *amad*. The Hebrew, Chaldee, and Arabic all agree in assigning to the same word the sense of the Latin *stare*, *perstare*, *fulcire*, *roborare*. It is hardly credible, that the Syriac word could vary so much from all these languages as properly to mean *immerse*, *dip*, etc. We come almost necessarily to the conclusion, then, inasmuch as the Syriac has an appropriate word which signifies *to dip*, *plunge*, *immerse* (*tzeva*), and yet it is never employed in the Peshito, that the translator did not deem it important to designate any particular mode of baptism, but only to designate the rite by a term which evidently appears to mean *confirm*,

*establish*, etc. Baptism, then, in the language of the Peshito, is *the rite of confirmation* simply, while the manner of this is apparently left without being at all expressed."

1. I would observe, in reply to this, that it is contrary to the canons of criticism, to make the meaning of the Syriac word entirely dependent on the usage of the kindred languages, even though these several words were proved to be identical. Michaelis, however, in his Syriac Lexicon, under the word *amad*, remarks that, in his opinion, it is evidently derived not from the Hebrew *amad*, *to stand*, but from the Arabic *ghamat*, *to submerge*. The signification *to stand*, he says he does not find at all in the Syriac, unless it be contained in the derivate, *amud*, *a pillar*; which usually occurs in the phrase, "a pillar of cloud," or "a pillar of fire."\* 2. Though the Syrians had a score of words signifying immersion, it would not follow that *amad* has not a similar meaning. The Greeks have several words to express this act, as *bapto*, *baptizo*, *dupto*, etc., of which *baptizo* alone is used to designate the rite of baptism; and yet Prof. Stuart admits that *baptizo* signifies immersion. But *amad*, though the Peshito happens to employ it exclusively, is not the only word used in the Syriac to translate *baptizo*. The very word (*tzeva*) which Professor Stuart mentions as properly signifying immersion, is often used to designate the ordinance of baptism. Prof. Stuart, with Michaelis in his hands, cannot be ignorant of this.—See Mich. Lex. Syr., under the word, and authorities there refer-

\* In hac baptizandi significatione conferunt haud pauci cum Hebreico שׁמַך stetit, ita ut, *stare*, sit *stare in flumine, illoque mergi*. Mihi verisimilius, diversum plane ab שׁמַך, literarumque aliqua permutatione ortum ex *submergere*. Stanti significationem, reliquis, linguis orientalibus communem apud Syros non reperio, nisi in derivato, quod sequitur, *amud*, quod ex uno loco Castello citatur fere ubique reperies, ubi in Hebr. נָבָד *nubis* et שְׁמַד אָנָּא *columna ignis*, legitur.

red to. 3. The assertion that *amad* evidently appears to mean *confirm*, *establish*, etc., is entirely gratuitous. Where is the evidence of this meaning? Is it in usage? Not in the usage of the New Testament, surely. It is not credible that Prof. Stuart, upon mature reflection, would be willing to read Luke 11:38, "And when the Pharisee saw it, he marvelled that he [Jesus] had not first *confirmed himself* (*amad*) before dinner." Mark 7:4: "And when they come from the market, except they *confirm themselves* (*amadin*), they eat not. And many other things there be, which they have received to hold; as the *confirmation* (*maamuditha*) of cups, and pots, and brazen vessels, and tables." Heb. 6:1, 2: "Therefore, leaving the principles of the doctrine of Christ, let us go on unto perfection; not laying again the foundation of repentance from dead works, and of faith toward God, and of the doctrine of *confirmations* (*maamuditha*). Chap. 9:10, "Which stood only in meats and drinks, and divers *confirmations* (*maamuditha*)."  
Such an interpretation, if it does not make nonsense of these passages, is an entire perversion of their meaning. The Greek, Roman, and Episcopal churches have a ceremony of confirmation, in which the baptismal vows of the candidate, originally made through the intervention of sponsors, are confirmed, or ratified; but to call baptism itself a confirmation, is, at least, a novel use of the term; and what idea is to be attached to the word in this connection, I am at a loss to conceive. The idea of "confirmation" or "establishment" is introduced in the New Testament some scores of times, but never in a single instance is it expressed by *amad*. The word does not occur in this sense in the Old Testament, nor indeed in any author whatever. Is any evidence of this meaning to be derived from the Lexicons? Not one of them acknowledge it. Castell defines the word *ablutus est*,

baptizatus est, immersit; *to bathe, baptize, immerse*.—See Castel. Lex. Heptaglot. sub. vc. London, 1669. Michaelis defines it, ablutus est, baptizatus est, immersit; *to bathe, baptize, immerse*; and adds, as has already been observed, that it comes from the Arabic *ghamat*, *to immerse*.—See Mich. Lex. Syr. sub. vc. Gottingen, 1788. Schaaf defines it ablutus se, ablutus, intinctus, immersus in aquam, baptizatus est; *to bathe one's self, to bathe, dip, immerse into water, baptize*.—See Schaaf Lex. Syr. sub. vc. Lyons, 1708. Guido Fabricius defines it baptizavit, intinxit, lavit; *to baptize, dip, bathe*.—See Lex. Syro. Chal. accompanying the Antwerp Polyglot, sub. vc. Antwerp, 1592. Schindler assigns baptizatus, in aquam immersus, tinctus, lotus fuit; *to baptize, immerse into water, dip, bathe*.—See Schind. Lex. Panteglot. sub. vc. Hanover, 1612. Buxtorf gives baptizari, intingi, ablui, abluere se; *to baptize, dip, bathe one's self*.—See Buxtorf. Lex. Chal. et Syr. Basle, 1622. Beza, after remarking that *baptizo* properly means *to immerse*, and never to *wash*, except as a consequence of immersion, says: “*Nec alia est significatio verbi עטַב quo utuntur Syri pro baptizari; nor does the signification of ‘amat,’ which the Syrians use for ‘baptize,’ differ at all from this.*”—See Bezae Annot. in Marc. 7: 4.

Against this array of authorities, I apprehend it will require something more than mere conjecture, to set aside the established and acknowledged meaning of this word. Indeed I confess I have not the perspicacity to discover how Prof. Stuart can consistently admit that the word is used to signify immersion, in Num. 31: 23, and at the same time, undertake to prove that it has not this meaning at all. If it signifies immersion in one instance, it may in a hundred. If it has this meaning in the Old Testament, it may have the same meaning in the New.

ETHIOPIC, OR ABYSSINIAN.—It is generally agreed that the

ancient Abyssinian version in the Gheez, or dialect, appropriated to religion, should be dated as early as the introduction of Christianity into that empire, that is, rather earlier than the middle of the fourth century. This version translates *baptizo* by **תָמַק**, *tamak*, which Castell says agrees (convenit cum) in signification with **תָבַע**, *tava*; and this he defines, immersus, demersus, submersus, fixus, infixus fuit; *to immerge, demerge, submerge, fix, infix*.

**AMHARIC.**—The version in the Amharic, or common dialect of Ethiopia, renders *baptizo* by the same word **תָמַק** as the ancient Ethiopic, or Gheez. The Amharic version, published by the British and Foreign Bible Society, in 1822, was made by Mr. Abraham, a learned Ethiopian, under the superintendence of M. Asselin, the French Vice Consul at Cairo.

**ARMENIAN, ANCIENT.**—The ancient Armenian version is universally ascribed to Miesrob, the inventor of the Armenian alphabet, and to the patriarch Isaac, at the end of the fourth, or early in the fifth century.—See Horne's Introduction, vol. ii. p. 208. This version translates *baptizo* uniformly by *mugurdel*, which is also employed in 2 Kings 5:14, where Naaman is said to have *dipped* himself in the Jordan. This word, according to Father Pascal Aucher, signifies “to baptize; to wash by plunging into water;” and it is applied to both persons and things—See Dictionary of Armenian and English, by Father Pascal Aucher, D.D. Venice, 1825. Also Dictionary of the Armenian Language, by Mekitar Vartabed. Venice, 1749.

**ARMENIAN, MODERN.**—The modern Armenian version employs the same word as the ancient Armenian in translating “*baptizo*,” and its derivatives. The Russian Bible Society, and the British and Foreign Bible Society, have printed and circulated editions of both the ancient and modern Armenian Scriptures.

**GEORGIAN.**—The Georgian version, which, according to the tradition of the Greek Church, was originally made in the eighth century, by Euphemius, the Georgian, and founder of the Ibirian or Georgian Monastery, at Mount Athos, employs the word, *nathlistemad*, as a translation of *baptizo*. For the meaning of this word, I have no access to the appropriate lexicons, but would refer the reader to the authority of the learned Mr. Robert Robinson, author of “The History of Baptism,” who states that *all* the ancient eastern versions render the Greek word *baptizo* in the sense of dipping.—See Rob. Hist. Bap. p. 7. London, 1790.

**COPTIC.**—The Coptic was the ancient dialect of Lower Egypt. During the first ages, the Christian Scriptures were read by the churches of Egypt, in the original Greek. The Coptic version has been supposed by some to have been executed in the second century. This, however, is not certain. The learned Louis Piques in Le Long, Biblioth Sac. pars. i. p. 287, refers it to the fifth century. This version translates *baptizo* by ΤΩΜC *tomas*. For the meaning of this word, the reader is referred to the authority of Mr. Robinson, as above; and also to that of the Baptist Mission Committee, who, in a recent official document addressed to the Committee of the British and Foreign Bible Society, and relating to the subject of translations, expressly mention the Coptic as rendering *baptizo* in the sense of *immersion*.—See Annual Report of the Eng. Bap. Miss. Society, for 1844, p. 32.

**SAHIDIC.**—The Sahidic version, or that in the dialect of Upper Egypt, appears, from the arguments adduced by Dr. Woide, to have been executed at the beginning of the second century. It is unquestionably one of the oldest versions in existence; and is esteemed of the utmost importance to the criticism of the Greek Testament. This version I have not

seen. For the manner in which it renders *baptizo*, the reader is referred to the authority of Mr. Robinson, as above.

**ARABIC.**—There are several Arabic versions of the New Testament, supposed to have been principally executed between the seventh and eleventh centuries, after this language had supplanted the Syriac and Egyptian. There are likewise more modern translations into this language. The Arabic versions render *baptizo* usually by *amad*, *tzabag*, or *gatas*. “*Amad*,” according to Schindler, “signifies the same in Arabic as in Syriac, *baptizatus, in aquam immersus, tinctus, lotus fuit* ;” *to baptize, immerse into water, dip, bathe* ; Castell, “*ut Syr. baptizavit*,” the same as the Syriac, *to baptize* ; Schaaf, “*tinxit, baptizavat*,” *to dip, to baptize*. “*Tzabag*,” according to Castell, is “*tinxit panem, imbuet (Isa. 63 : 4), immersit manum in aquam, baptizavit (per immersionem)* ;” *to dip as bread in sauce, to dye, to immerse as the hand into water, to baptize by immersion*. “*Gatas*,” according to Schindler, is “*natavit, urinavit, mersit, submersit, immersit sub aquam, baptizavit* ;” *to swim, to dive, plunge, submerge, immerse under water, baptize*. If, therefore, these lexicographers are to be trusted, Prof. Stuart is evidently mistaken in supposing with respect to the Syrian *amad*, that the signification “*to immerse*” is unsupported by the analogy of kindred languages. The British and Foreign Bible Society, and the London Society for promoting Christian Knowledge, have, within a few years past, put in circulation several editions of the Arabic New Testament.

**PERSIAN.**—The Persian translations of the New Testament are all quite modern. The most ancient is the one by Simon Ibn Joseph Al Tabrizi, a Roman Catholic, made about A. D. 1341, and including only the four Gospels.—See Le Long, Biblioth. Sacr. Pars. i. p. 269. Another version of the Gospels, by Lieut. Colonel Colebrooke, was published at Calcutta

in 1804. A version of the entire New Testament in Persian was completed in 1812, by Meer Seyd Ali, under the superintendence of the late Rev. Henry Martyn, which was subsequently printed at Petersburg, Calcutta, and London. The Persian designates the ordinance of baptism by *shastanah*, *ghusl*, and the derivate of *amad*. The two former express *ablution*: the last has the same meaning in the Persian as in the Arabic.

**TURKISH.**—A Turkish version of the New Testament, by Dr. Lazarus Seaman, was published at Oxford in 1666; and in the same year a translation of the whole Bible into the Turkish language was completed by Albertus Boboosky, interpreter to the Porte. This manuscript remained at Leyden unpublished, till Dr. Pinkerton, having ascertained its value, recommended it to the British and Foreign Bible Society, at whose expense the New Testament was published in 1819. This version designates the act of baptism by the derivate of *amad*, the same word that is used in the Arabic and Persian, and expressing the same sense.

**TARTAR.**—The Orenberg Tartar, published a few years since by the Russian Bible Society, and which is the only Tartar version I have seen, translates the word in question by *amad*, following the Turkish and the Arabic.

**HEBREW.**—The first Hebrew version of the New Testament was made by Elias Hutter, and published in his Polyglot New Testament in 1599. Several versions have since appeared. Hutter's version, as well as the one by the learned Mr. Greenfield, accompanying Bagster's Polyglot, renders *baptizo* invariably by **תָּבַל** *taval*, *to immerse*. The version executed for the London Society for meliorating the condition of the Jews, transfers the Greek word.

*Ancient and Modern Western Versions.*

LATIN.—Numerous translations of the Scriptures were made into the Latin language, at the first introduction of Christianity, while the Greek was yet perfectly understood, although it was being gradually supplanted as a general language. The most important of these, and the one which appears to have acquired a more extensive circulation than the rest, was usually known by the name of the *Itala*, or old Italic, and was unquestionably executed in the early part of the second century. This version adopts the Greek word *baptizo*. Let it be remarked, however, that the Greek, although the Latin was gradually supplanting it, was at this time understood and used as a general language over Italy, Persia, Syria, and Egypt, and indeed throughout almost the whole world.\* Add to this, that the earliest ecclesiastical writers, and perhaps the very authors of this version, were of Greek origin. Under these circumstances, it cannot be thought surprising that this word should have passed from one language into the other. Its meaning, however, was as

\* L'usage de la langue Grecque, qui étoit repandue chez toutes les nations, les rendit d'abord moins nécessaires. On lisoit les originaux du Nouveau Testament presque dans tous les lieux du monde. Les Evêques de Rome étoient souvent Grecs d'origine, comme on le connaît aisement par leurs noms, et leur langue étoit devenue fort commune en Italie. Les Perses, les Syriens, les Egyptiens, entendoient cette langue, depuis que les Captaines d'Alexandrie, le Grand l'avoient repandue. Origine, Clement d'Alexandrie, Denys, Theophile Cyrille, Evgues de la ville d'Alexandrie, en un mot les grans hommes que l'Egypte produse dans les premiers siecles, ecrivoient tous en Grec. Cette langue avoit passé jusques chez les Getes et les Sarmates, quoi qu'on l'y prononçat tres duroment : c'est Ovide qui nous en assure.”—Basnage, Hist. de l'Eglise, 1, 9, 3.

definitely settled and as well understood in Latin, as in Greek usage; and the construction that they employed shows most conclusively that it was accepted in the sense of immersion; for in some of the most important MSS. that remain of the Italic version, as the Codex Vercellensis, and Codex Veronensis, the verb in question is often, and in the last-named Codex almost invariably, constructed with the accusative case. E. g. Mat. 3 : 6, cod. Vercel. “et baptizabantur \* \* ab illo in Jordanen;” cod. Veron. “et baptizabantur \* \* \* \* danen;” *and were baptized by him into the Jordan*; v. 11, cod Veron. “baptizo vos in aquam;” *I baptize you into water*: v. 13, cod Veron. “Tunc venit Jesus a Galilaea ad Johannen ut baptizaretur ab eo in Jordanen;” *then came Jesus from Galilee to John, that he might be baptized by him into the Jordan*. Compare also John 1 : 26, and Mark 1 : 5. See *Evangeliarum Quadruplex*, ed J. Blanchini, Rome, 1749. Nor can it have escaped the notice of the intelligent reader, that the Latin Fathers were accustomed to use baptizo synonymously with mergo, tingo, etc. Thus Tertullian, *De Bap.* c. 10, quoting Matt. 3 : 11, represents John as saying that he dipped [tinguere] the people unto repentance, but that one should come after him, who would dip [tingueret] them in the Spirit and fire. Now Tertullian, in quoting the Evangelist’s words, could not have substituted tingo for baptizo, unless the two words had been synonymous. Indeed, Prof. Stuart, p. 362, acknowledges that the Latin as well as the Greek fathers, plainly construed baptizo in the sense of immersion. It appears, then, that the early Latin translators and ecclesiastical writers adopted this word, because it was already in familiar use, and was as universally understood to signify immersion among the Romans, as among the Greeks. The Latin versions, therefore, are as decisive for immersion, as are the oriental ones. And, although the

Greek language gradually fell into disuse among the Romans, this word having been once adopted, was, as a natural consequence, perpetuated by the general use of the Latin Scriptures, and their necessary influence upon the choice of ecclesiastical terms, till at length it came to be used to the almost entire exclusion of the equivalent vernacular expressions. Almost all the Latin interpreters, whether Catholic or Protestant, have followed the earlier translators in the adoption of the Greek word. Some of the most recent and best, however, translate *baptizo* by an appropriate Latin term. Jaspis, an eminent German scholar and critic, in his version of the epistles, renders it either by *immergo*, *to immerse*, *tingo*, *to dip*, or some equivalent expression. Prof. H. A. Schott, in his critical edition of the Greek Testament, accompanied with a Latin translation, renders the word in all cases by *immergo*, whether relating to the Christian rite or not.

**GOTHIC.**—The Gothic version was made from the Greek, about the middle of the fourth century, by Ulphilas, a celebrated bishop of the Moesogoths. As the author was educated among the Greeks, he was undoubtedly fully competent to his task. Unfortunately, however, this important version has not come down to us entire. Only a mutilated copy of the four gospels, and some fragments of the epistle to the Romans, remain. This version, as far as appears, renders *baptizo* in all cases by *daupyan*, *to dip*. Cases not relating to the Christian rite exhibit the same principle. Thus, Marc. 7: 4 is rendered, “And when they came from the market, *ni daupyand, unless they dip*, they eat not ; and many other things there be, which they have received to hold, as *daupeinins, the dippings* of cups, and pots, and brazen vessels, and couches.”

**GERMAN.**—A German translation from the Latin Vulgate,

by an author now unknown, was first printed in 1466, and underwent several subsequent impressions before the appearance of Luther's inestimable and much-admired translation, which was published in detached portions at various intervals, from 1522 to 1532. The Catholic versions by Detemberger and Emser appeared soon after that of Luther, and in 1630, that by Caspar Ulenburg. All these versions translate *baptizo* by *taufen*, a dialectical variation of the Gothic *daupyan*, and signifying to immerse. Luther says: "The Germans call baptism, *tauff*, from depth, which in their language they call *tieff*; as it is proper that those who are baptized be deeply immersed."\* The author of the "Glossarium Universale Hebraicum" referred to above, represents the Ger. *taufen* as corresponding in form and signification with the Sax. *dippan*, Eng. *dip*, etc. Gesenius, as already quoted above, classes it with the Goth. *doufan* [daupyan] Ital. *tuffare*, and other words signifying to dip,—and which he considers as identical in regard to form with the Heb. *tava*, *to dip, to immerse*. Dr. Knapp, Professor of Theology at the University of Halle, speaking of the meaning of the word *baptism*, says: "τὸ βάπτισμα, from βαπτίζειν, which properly signifies *to immerse*, (like the German *taufen*,) *to dip in, to wash* by immersion." In another place he says: "It would have been better to have adhered generally to the ancient practice, as even Luther and Calvin allowed."

\* "Primo, nomen Baptismus Græcum est: Latine potent verti *mersio*, cum immersimus aliquid in aquam, ut totum tegatur aqua; et quamvis ille mos jam absoleverit apud plerosque (neque enim totos demergunt pueros, sed tantum, pancula aqua perfundunt) debebant tamen prorsus immersi, et statim retrahi. Id enim etymologia nominis postulare videtur. Et Germani quoque baptismum, *tauff* vocant, a profunditate, quam *tieff* illi sua lingua vocant, quod profunde demergi conveniat eos qui baptizuntur." Works, vol. i. p. 336. Jena, 1556.

See Knapp's Theology, translated by L. Woods, Jr., vol. 2, pp. 510, 517.

**GERMAN-SWISS.** The version in the German-Swiss, or Helvetic dialect, originally made by John Piscator, between the years 1602 and 1604, and subsequently revised by several divinity professors and pastors of the Helvetic churches, translates *baptizo* by *taufen*. The version by Jo. Henr. Reizius, first published in 1703, uses *taufen* in cases relating to the Christian rite, explaining it in the margin by *eintauchen*, the common word for immersion. In Mark 7: 4, it translates *baptizo* by *eintauchen*, to immerse, and the noun *baptismos* by *eintauchung, immersion*; and so in Luke 11: 38. In Heb. 6: 2, and 9: 10, *baptismos* is translated by *tauffe* in all the versions I have seen.

**JEWISH GERMAN.** The Jewish German translations published a few years ago by the London Society for promoting Christianity among the Jews, likewise uses *tauffen* in translating *baptizo*.

**LOWER SAXON.** The Lower Saxon translates the word in question by *taufen*. This version was executed under the direction of John Bugenhagius, and, according to Le Long, was printed in 1524—30; but according to Horne, 1533—4. See Le Long Biblioth. Sac. P. ii. p. 247. Horne. Int. vol. ii. p. 229.

**BELGIAN.** A Belgian or Flemish translation made from the Latin vulgate, was printed in 1475. Another was executed from Luther's German version, for the use of the Protestants, in 1560. A new translation, however, was executed from the original, by order of the Synod of Dort, and printed in 1637. This translation has been much admired for its fidelity. The Belgian versions translate *baptizo* by *doopen*, which is a dialectical form of the word *taufen*, and signifies *to dip*.

**DANISH.** The earliest Danish version was made from the Latin vulgate. The next was executed from Luther's German version, by command of Christian III., king of Denmark, and printed in 1550. It was subsequently revised and corrected by order of Frederick II., in 1589. The version in present use was made from the original Greek, by John Paul Resenius, and at the command of Christian IV. It was first published in 1605—7. See Le Long, Pars. ii. pp. 287, 288. Horne, vol. ii. p. 229. The Danish translates baptizo by *døbe*, which is a dialectical form of the Goth. *daupyan* and the German *taufen*, and signifies *to dip*.

**SWEDISH.** The Swedish version was originally made from Luther's German translation, and printed at Upsal in 1541, by the command of Gustavus I. king of Sweden. This was afterwards revised and conformed to the original text in 1703, by the command of Charles XII. See Le Long, Pars. ii. p. 296. Horne, vol. ii. p. 230. The Swedish renders baptizo by *döpa*, a dialectical variation of *löbe*, and signifying *to dip*.

**WELSH.** The Welsh translation of the New Testament was originally made by order of Parliament, and first published in 1567. This was revised and corrected by Wm. Morgan, bishop of Llandaff, in 1588. During the reign of James I., the Welsh version underwent a further examination and correction by Dr. Parry. This corrected version which was published in 1620, is the basis of all the subsequent editions. See Horne, vol. 2, pp. 258, 259. The Welsh translates baptizo by *bedyddio, to immerse*. For the original derivation and meaning of this word, the reader is referred to the authority of Edward Lhuyd, A.M., a learned Welshman, and a very distinguished antiquarian, in his *Archæologia Britannica*, under the word *Baptisma*. The following is the substance of his remarks: “*Bedydd*, the

Welsh word for baptism, is derived from *suddiant*, a British word which is well known to signify dipping, or immersion; and the verb of which is *soddi*, or *suddo*. The word for baptism in the Cornish-British dialect, is *bedzhidhian* (*bedsuddian*), the affinity of which, with the Welsh word *suddiant*, must be obvious to every one. This Cornish-British word *bedsuddian*, points out the origin of the Armoricane word for baptism, *badudhiant* (*baduddiant*), which is doubtless no other than *badsuddiant*, whose correspondence or synonymy with the Welsh word *suddiant*, is equally clear and certain with that of the aforementioned Cornish-British word. By a comparison of these Armoricane and Cornish-British words, we are led unavoidably to conclude that *bedsuddiant*, or *badsuddiant*, must have been the original word for baptism in the British language, and that from which the present Welsh word *bedydd* sprung. In time this ancient British word, like many others in all languages, underwent some change by abridgment or contraction. It was originally *bedsuddiant* or *badsuddiant*; and whatever may be said as to the precise meaning of the prefix, the word itself unquestionably signified immersion; for the word *suddiant* has always amounted to that as fully as any word in any language could possibly do." See Article *Baptisma*, in Lhuys's Arch. Brit. Comp. Vocab., ed. 1707; or a translation of the same, in Dr. Richards' answer to Rev. B. Evens on Baptism, pp. 16, 17, ed. 1791.

SCLAVONIAN. The Selavonian or old Russian translation of the New Testament was made from the original Greek in the ninth century, by the two brothers Cyril and Methodius. It was first printed in 1570. The Russians, being a branch of the Greek church, practice immersion in all ordinary cases; but the ceremony of making the sign of the cross upon the candidate in connection with immersion, had come

to be regarded in the time of Cyril and Methodius, as the more important ceremony of the two, and absolutely essential to the ordinance. Hence, among the Russians this rite is technically designated from the "crossing," and not from the "immersion." Their version, therefore, does not in fact translate *baptizo* at all; but substitutes the term *krestit, to cross*; as Matt. 3:5, 6, "Then went out to him Jerusalem and all Judea, and all the region round about Jordan, and were *crossed* by him in Jordan, confessing their sins," v. 11: "I indeed *cross* you," etc. This is greatly to be regretted; for such a technical designation of the rite banishes entirely from view the ordinance of Jesus Christ, and substitutes in its place a tradition of men; and every version constructed upon this principle, though not in the least degree hostile to immersion, not only sanctions, but is calculated to perpetuate a piece of gross superstition and folly, that had its birth among the early corruptions of the man of sin. [This meaning of *krestit* is stated upon the authority of a Russian gentleman, whose education and rank are a sufficient guaranty for its correctness.]

**RUSSIAN.** As the Selavonic is no longer understood among the common people, a translation of the Scriptures into modern Russ was made by M. Glück, a Livonian clergyman, and printed at Amsterdam at 1698. As the Russian language has undergone considerable changes since that time, the Emperor Alexander in 1816, directed the Synod of Moscow to prepare a new translation. The New Testament was accordingly completed in 1822. See Horne, vol. ii. p. 266. The modern Russian employs *krestit*, in the same manner as the Selavonic. Several other nations in northern and eastern Europe, which are related to Russia either by language or religion, appear to have constructed their translations upon a similar principle. Both the British and

Foreign Bible Society, and the American Bible Society, have, within a few years past, aided extensively in circulating the Scriptures in the Sclavonic, Russian, and kindred dialects.

**ROMANESE AND KINDRED VERSIONS.** The Romanese language is divided into two dialects, the *Churwelsche* and the *Ladiniche*; the former of which is spoken by the inhabitants of the Engadine, one of the loftiest vallies of Switzerland, bordering upon the Tyrol; and the latter by the Ladins, who reside on the confines of Italy. The versions in these dialects, as well as in the Italian, French, Spanish, Vaudois, Portuguese, etc., adopt the word *baptizo* in the same manner as the ancient Latin. Nor is this at all surprising. These languages were derived principally from the Latin. And since in the later stages of the Latin, *baptizo* was almost exclusively used for designating the ordinance of baptism, its adoption in these languages was almost a matter of course. Its retention, however, in common use, and especially its adoption into their versions of the Scriptures, was, to say the least, extremely injudicious and improper. While the meaning of this word was generally understood, there was no impropriety in using it; but in these languages, just as in the English, it conveys no definite idea, except to the learned: and upon no rational principle whatever can a translator be justified in retaining any word that is capable of translation, after it has ceased to be intelligible to common readers.

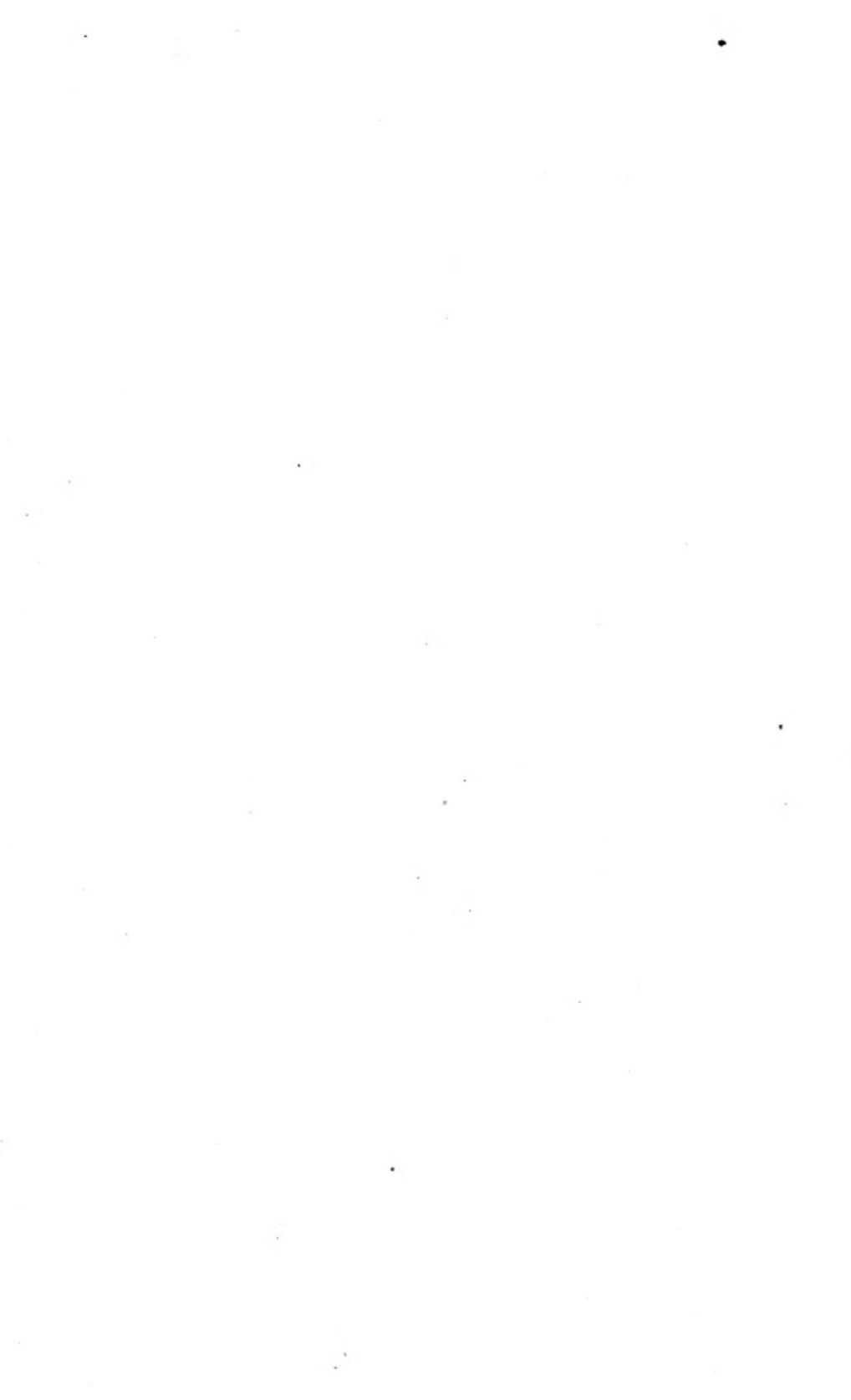
**ENGLISH AND OTHER VERSIONS.** The first English translations of the Bible known to be extant, was made by an unknown individual, and is placed by Archbishop Usher to the year 1290. About the year 1380, the celebrated John Wickliffe translated the entire Bible from the Latin vulgate into the English language, not being sufficiently acquainted with the Hebrew and Greek to translate from the originals.

The first printed edition of the English scriptures was a translation of the New Testament from the original Greek, by Wm. Tindal, published abroad in the year 1526. The first edition of the entire English Bible was that of Miles Coverdale, published in October, 1535. Matthewe's Bible was published in 1537; Cranmer's Bible, in 1539; Taverner's Bible in the same year; the Geneva Bible, in 1560; the Bishops' Bible, in 1568; the Rhemish New Testament, translated from the Latin vulgate by the Romanists, in 1582; and the Douay Bible by the same, in 1610. The translation prepared by the command of King James, was first published in 1611. Horne, vol. 2, p, 232—249. The introduction of the word *baptize* into the English language, is to be traced to the early footing obtained in England by the emissaries of the Romish church, and to the exclusive use of the Latin Scriptures previously to the circulation of vernacular translations. But this term had not, at the time the present authorized version was made, the universal suffrage it has since obtained. It had been introduced, however, into most of the previous translations, and King James commanded "the old ecclesiastical words to be kept, as the word church, not to be translated congregation." The word *baptize* was of course included. Thus a word imposed by foreign influence, but never adopted into the language with any settled meaning, and to which none but the learned could attach any definite idea, was required by royal authority to be retained, whatever might be the judgment or choice of the translators. Most of the versions since made by Pedobaptists have been constructed on the same principle; as, for example, the Irish, Monks, Gaelic, Mohawk, Esquimaux, Taheitan, etc. In the Seneca language they have rendered *baptizo* *to sprinkle*; in the Cherokee, *to immerse*; and in the Icelandic and Chinese, *to wash*. The Baptists, who have translated the Scriptures, either in whole or in part, in between thirty and forty of the languages of India, have, I believe, invariably proceeded upon the principle of translating the word according to its proper and acknowledged meaning, *to immerse*.

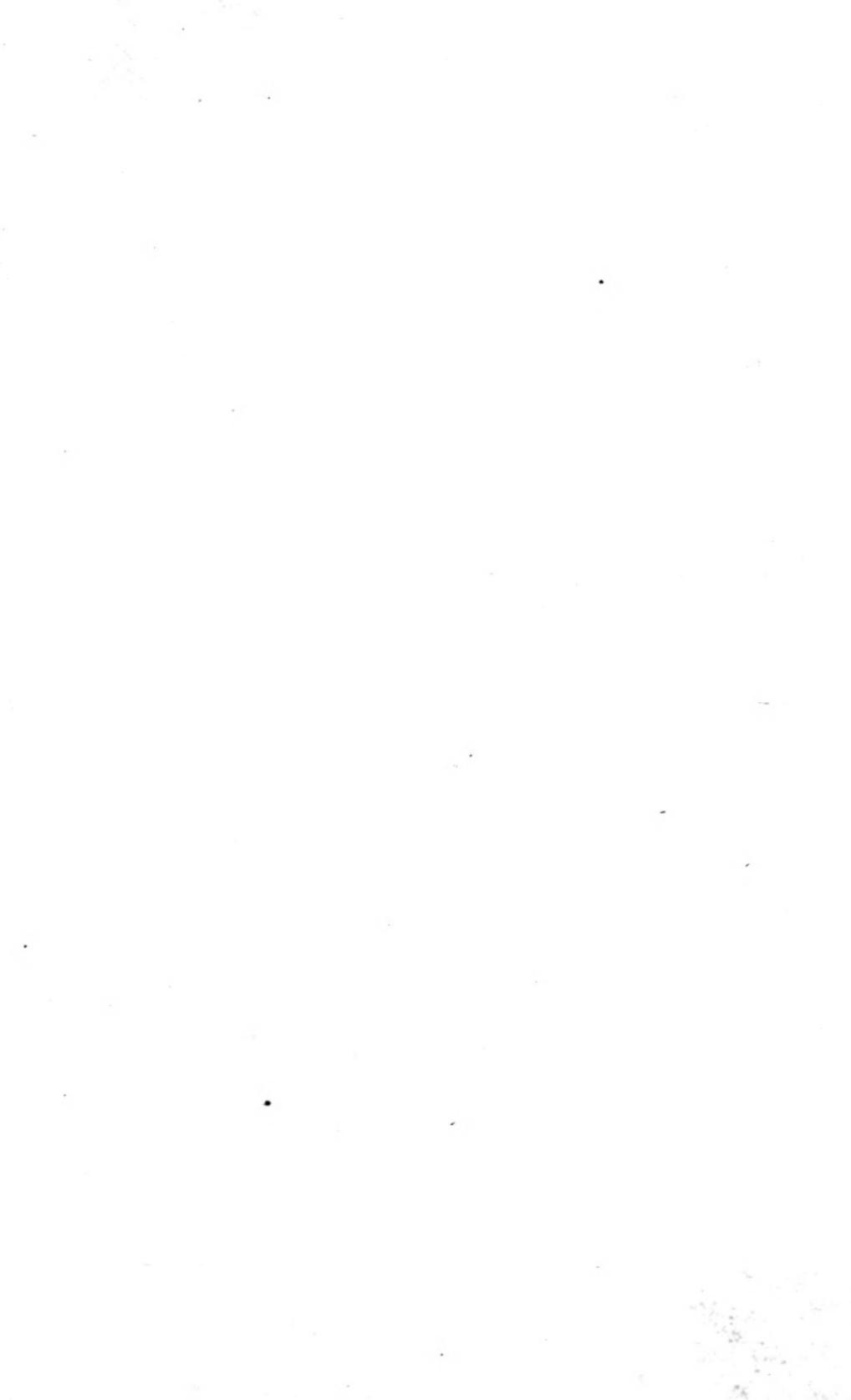
It appears, then, upon a review of the whole, that the ancient oriental versions which were executed by those who

were perfectly familiar with the Greek language, and before there could have existed any motive for mistranslation in this case, uniformly rendered *baptizo* in the sense of immersion; that the first instance of the transfer of this word was in a country where the Greek was spoken as a general language, and to a great extent was as well understood as the vernacular tongue; and that its retention in the Latin language after the Greek had fallen into general disuse, was the occasion of its introduction into other languages, as a barbarous and unmeaning term, to the great prejudice of the interests of truth, and of the peace of the church. On what ground, then, can Prof. Stuart regard those versions that are executed on the principle adopted by the Baptist missionaries, as *sectarian* translations? The fact that these versions accord with our distinguishing sentiments, surely will not be assumed as the ground of such a charge. If the simple fact that the sentiments and practice of a particular denomination harmonize with the Scriptures, constitutes those Scriptures *sectarian*, then must *sectarianism* be a harmless thing. In case that the meaning of the original is either perverted or concealed, for the sake of favoring a sect, the translation becomes properly *sectarian*. But on what principle can a translation be pronounced *sectarian*, which faithfully represents the meaning of the original, and is supported by the earliest and most important versions in existence; and while, independently of those made by Baptists, the versions now used over more than one half of the Protestant world, and by Christians of every denomination, translate the word in question precisely in the same manner?

The Baptists do not translate *baptizo* to *immerse*, because such a rendering harmonizes with their practice, and will tend to promote their denominational views. Far from it. Those men of God who have manifested such disinterested zeal, and endured so much self-denial and toil for the salvation of the heathen, deserve the credit of purer and holier motives. They construct their translations upon this principle, because the literal and obvious meaning of the original requires this rendering; and that translator who consents in any case to conceal the truth of God, by introducing a barbarous term not understood by common readers, incurs a responsibility which I should tremble to bear.



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